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7 MAY 1987

# **Southeast Asia Report**

SIXTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

15-18 DECEMBER 1986

**SPECIAL NOTICE INSIDE**

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7 MAY 1987

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### SIXTH CONGRESS OF COMMUNIST PARTY OF VIETNAM

15-18 DECEMBER 1986

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CPV PLENUM SETS SIXTH CONGRESS DATE

OW251717 Hanoi VNA in English 1711 GMT 25 Nov 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA Nov. 25 -- The eleventh plenum of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Vietnam was held here from Nov. 17-25 in preparation for the upcoming Sixth C.P.V. National Congress.

In his opening speech, General Secretary Truong Chinh summed up the preparatory work for the upcoming Sixth C.P.V. Congress and pointed out that results of the plenum would be a decisive factor for the success of the congress.

He spoke of the fine results of the recent meeting in Moscow of general and first secretaries of the fraternal parties countries and his meeting with C.P.S.U. General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. The plenum warmly acclaimed the outcome of these two events.

The plenum studied and highly valued ideas and suggestions of the party congresses at different levels and of all party cadres and members, army men and the entire people including overseas Vietnamese to the revision and perfection of draft documents to be submitted to the coming C.P.V. national congress.

It unanimously adopted documents to be delivered at the sixth party congress including the political report of the party Central Committee, the report on the supplementation and amendment of a number of provisions in the party statute, and the report on the fundamental tasks and objectives of the five-year (1986-90) plan. It also discussed issues relating to the composition of the party's leading bodies.

The eleventh plenum decided to convene the sixth C.P.V. National Congress on December 15, 1986.

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CSO: 4209/396

## CONGRESS OPENS 15 DECEMBER

### Presidium Seated

BK160220 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 15 Dec 86

[Report on opening session of Sixth CPV Congress held on morning of 15 December at Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi]

[Excerpt] At 0830 [0130 GMT], the presidium proceeds to the podium amid the resounding applause of the delegates.

The presidium comprises comrades Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, Pham Hung, Le Duc Tho, Nguyen Van Linh, Vo Chi Cong, Do Muoi, Vo Van Kiet, Nguyen Duc Tam, Le Duc Anh, Nguyen Co Thach, Dong Sy Nguyen, Tran Xuan Bach, Nguyen Thanh Binh, Tran Kien, Huynh Tan Phat, Nguyen Thi Dinh, Vo Tran Chi, Nguyen Ky Cam, Le Thanh Nhan, Nguyen Van Tri, Ksor Kron, La Thang, Dam Quang Trung, Nguyen Chon, Nguyen Van Hieu, Pham The Duet, Vo Mao, Cao Sy Kien, Nguyen Thi Ngoc Lien, Le Danh Xuong, (Lo Van Cuon); and Comrades Ligachev, head of the CPSU delegation; Kaysone Phomvihan, head of the LPRP delegation, Heng Samrin, head of the KPRP delegation; and many other comrade heads of the delegations of various communist and workers parties and revolutionary movements.

### Foreign Delegations

BK160432 [Editorial Report] Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese at 0100 GMT on 15 December, at the beginning of its live coverage of the opening session of the Sixth CPV Congress, features two announcers setting the scene in the minutes prior to the arrival of the delegates in the Ba Dinh Conference Hall.

As part of their remarks they provide the following list of foreign delegations attending the congress: "The CPSU delegation headed by Comrade Ligachev, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee; the LPRP delegation headed by Comrade General Secretary Kaysone Phomvihan, chairman of the Council of Ministers; the KPRP delegation headed by Comrade General Secretary Heng Samrin, chairman of the Council of State; the delegation of the Albanian Workers Party headed by Comrade Xhemal Dymylja, member of the party Central Committee and first secretary of the Elbasan provincial party committee; the delegation of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party headed by Comrade Paulo de Castro, alternate member of the party Central Committee and head of the External Relations Department; the delegation of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan headed by Comrade Haydar Masud, secretary of the party Central Committee; the delegation of the Communist Party of India headed by



Mr Rajashekhara Reddy, secretary of the All-India Council of the party; the delegation of the Communist Party of India-Marxist headed by Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet, member of the Political Bureau; the delegation of the Polish United Workers Party headed by Comrade Jozef Czyrek, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee; the delegation of the Portuguese Communist Party headed by Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the party; the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party headed by Comrade Grisha Filipov, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee; the delegation of the Communist Party of Chile headed by Comrade Jorge Montec, deputy general secretary; the delegation of the Communist Party of Cuba headed by Comrade Jorge Risquet, Politburo member and Central Committee secretary; the delegation of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany headed by Comrade Werner Krolkowski, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; the delegation of the German Communist Party headed by Comrade Ma (Helen Ziber), party vice chairman; the delegation of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party headed by Comrade Csaba Hamori, Politburo member and first secretary of the Hungarian Communist Youth League; the MPRP delegation headed by Comrade Bat-Ochiryn Altangerel, Politburo member and first secretary of Ulaanbaatar municipal party committee; the delegation of the Mozambique Liberation Front headed by Comrade Guileon Mchila, member of the Central Committee; the delegation of the Communist Party USA headed by Comrade Maurice Jackson, party Central Committee member; the delegation of the South-West African People's Organization of Namibia, headed by Comrade Envula Obes Tulina, party Central Committee member; the delegation of the African National Congress [ANC] headed by Mr John Nkadimeng, general secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and member of the ANC National Executive Committee; the delegation of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua [FSLN] headed by Comrade Luis Carrion Cruz, member of the FSLN National Directorate and revolutionary commander; the delegation of the Japan Communist Party headed by Comrade Murakami Horomu, standing member of the Presidium and Political Bureau and vice chairman of the party Central Committee Presidium [uyr viien thuwowngf vuj dqaanf chu tichj, uhr viien thuwowngf vuj booj chinhs trij, phos chur tichj dqaanf chur tichj ban chaaps hanhf trung uwowng]; the PLO delegation headed by Mr Sharif 'Ali Mashal, member of the Revolutionary Council and chief of the Foreign Affairs Department; the delegation of the French Communist Party headed by Comrade (Maxim Gremec), Political Bureau member and party Central Committee secretary; the delegation of the Romanian Communist Party headed by Comrade Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee; the delegation of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador [FMLN] headed by Mr Jorge Shafik Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party and member of the FMLN General Command; the delegation of the review PROBLEMS OF PEACE AND SOCIALISM headed by Comrade Zuezy Waszeznk, member of the editorial staff; the delegation of the Czechoslovak Communist Party headed by Comrade Jozef Kempny, member of the party Central Committee Presidium and chairman of the Czech National Council; the WPK delegation headed by Comrade Kim Yong-chae, member of the party Central Committee and minister of posts and communications; and the delegation of the Yemen Socialist Party headed by Comrade Muhammad Haydrah Masdus, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Haile provincial party committee."

## Nguyen Van Linh Opens Congress

BK150529 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0133 GMT 15 Dec 86

["Opening speech" by Nguyen Van Linh, member of CPC Central Committee Political Bureau, at 15 December session of the Sixth CPV Congress at Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi -- live]

[Text] The Presidium, distinguished guests, and dear comrade delegates: To open this grand session, on behalf of the Presidium, I would like to extend my warmest greetings to the comrade delegates, outstanding party members elected by the congresses of the party organizations directly subordinate to the central level who typify the strength of solidarity and collective intellect of the party and who bring to the national congress the will and aspirations of our entire party and people. [applause]

Our congress warmly greets the CPSU delegation headed by Comrade Yegor Kuzmich Ligachev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the party Central Committee [prolonged applause]; warmly greets the LPRF delegation headed by Comrade Kaysons Phomvihan [prolonged applause]; and warmly greets the LPRP delegation headed by Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the party Central Committee. [prolonged applause]

We warmly welcome the delegations of various fraternal and friendly parties who have brought us warm friendship and militant solidarity for the cause of revolution, social progress, and the preservation of world peace. [applause]

Our congress respectfully turns our memory to great President Ho Chi Minh, the venerated and beloved leader whose thoughts and virtues will live forever in the cause of our people with a particularly profound and fresh educational and motivating force requiring that we look squarely at the truth and draw appropriate conclusions as stated in the Central Committee's Political Report to be presented by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh. [prolonged applause]

Our congress recalls the memory of Comrade Le Duan, an outstanding pupil of President Ho Chi Minh who had served for several years as party general secretary and, together with the party Central Committee, had led the achievement of the people's national democratic revolution and had taken the entire country to socialism; a pure and respected internationalist militant of the international communist movement and the world; and a staunch communist who served the people throughout his life. [applause]

Our congress recalls the memory of Comrades Nguyen Duy Trinh, Tran Quoc Hoan, Xuan Thuy, Hoang Van Thai, and Le Trong Tan. We recall the memory of other comrade members of the Central Committee and countless beloved party members, compatriots, and combatants who have sacrificed their lives for the revolutionary cause from the fifth party congress up to this day. I propose that the congress observe 1 minute of silence in their memory. The minute of silence begins. It is over. Please be seated, comrades.

Over the past years, important achievements and victories have been recorded in the building of socialism and the defense of the fatherland. In many places throughout the country, there have appeared highly promising talented youths, models of good management, and progressive units. These are flowers of socialism which have blossomed in increasing numbers in our country. For several months now, party organizations,

people of all strata throughout the country, and overseas Vietnamese have stirred up a movement to turn toward the congress, to contribute opinions on the Central Committee's Draft Political Report, and to engage in emulation activities to score achievements to greet the congress.

Elated over these achievements, we must see even more clearly the reverse side of the situation, especially concerning the socioeconomic field, with the sluggishness in production, the confusion in distribution and circulation, the difficulties in the people's lives, the negative phenomena in several aspects of life, and the decline in the working people's confidence. These are things that our party as well as our people cannot accept. Certainly, we must, by all means, effect a change in the situation. In particular, we must stabilize the economy and society, make them healthy, and take them forward. [applause]

To change the situation, this sixth congress must mark our party's renovation of thinking, workstyle, organization, and cadres. This is a pressing demand of the country. It is also a characteristic of revolution, especially socialist revolution, a profound nature of Marxism-Leninism, and a necessary trend of the time which was eminently embodied by the great thoughts of the 27th Congress of the CPSU, the party of great Lenin. [applause]

Only through renovation can we see correctly and completely the truth — seeing new factors to develop and mistakes to correct — so as to apply Marxism-Leninism satisfactorily in our country's situation; develop our nation's historic and revolutionary traditions; and mobilize the dynamism, creativity, and the endless capabilities of the laboring people who are exercising their collective mastery. This is to step up the three revolutions while carrying out socialist construction and national defense. In this way, we can firmly maintain the lofty and proud nature of our party, people, and regime while making this nature more diversified and beautiful so that it can bloom into new achievements, thus meeting our people's demands and keeping pace with our changing times.

To achieve this aim, we must struggle against the old-fashioned, the conservative, and procrastination as well as against dogmatism, subjectivism, hastiness, degradation, ideological deviation, and lingering out-dated habits. This is a hard revolutionary struggle taking place in all fields of activity and within each of us.

In its various reports presented at the congress, the CPV Central Committee has striven to concentrate the wisdom of the entire party and people on substantiating the party lines charted since the fourth and fifth congresses and on bringing forth policies and measures to generate new changes and renovations, chiefly in the three major economic programs — grain and food, consumer goods, and export goods — and in the motivation drive to purify and improve the combat strength of various party organizations, to purify and improve the managerial efficiency of the state apparatus, to dispel and eliminate all negative phenomena, to make all social relations healthy, and to achieve social equality.

Our congress will discuss and approve those reports of the party Central Committee and will elect a new party Central Committee. This reflects our party's tradition of remaining united and singleminded, its will to carry out renovation, and its determination to move forward to ensure its guidance in the successful implementation of the resolutions to be adopted at this congress. [applause]



Effecting a change in the entire revolutionary undertaking in the direction of renovation is a long process. We must continue patiently to think about, explore, experiment with, and gradually shape up new things positively and steadily. The country's situation requires our party to achieve growth, strengthen unity, join minds and actions, restore and consolidate the confidence and enthusiasm of the people, and encourage the revolutionary movement among the masses. [applause]

With our country's laboring people and our Vietnamese nation rich in revolutionary enthusiasm, courage, intelligence, and creativity, our people are certain to welcome joyfully the resolutions of the congress, translate them into revolutionary action, and struggle strenuously to achieve realistic results in all aspects of life. [applause]

During the people's national democratic revolution and during various wars of resistance, our performance was of historic and epochal significance. Over the past 10 years, we have been through a great deal and paid a high price for the knowledge and experience we now have, and we have matured with this. In the socialist revolution, while implementing the two tasks of building socialism and defending the fatherland, our party and our people are certain to perform grandly, in a manner commensurate with the historic mandate of the nation. In the interests of our people, we will make our worthy contributions to the revolutionary undertaking and to peace and friendship among nations in this region and in the rest of the world. [applause]

With this confidence, may I solemnly declare the sixth national congress of delegates of our party open. [applause]

#### Report on Afternoon Session

BK151700 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 15 Dec 86

[Report by radio correspondent (Yran Trong Thuy) on the 15 December afternoon session of the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] Dear friends, with a high spirit of communism and party character, this afternoon, 15 December, the sixth party congress continued its intensive work. Various domestic and international delegations took turns delivering speeches. The congress accorded the honor of being the first to take the floor to the Hanoi delegation. Comrade Nguyen Thanh Binh, secretary of the municipal party committee, took the floor amid the warm applause of the delegates showing their affection, confidence, and enormous encouragement of the entire party toward the heroic capital — the heart of the country.

On behalf of the municipal party organization, the comrade secretary of the Hanoi municipal party committee unanimously and completely agreed with the important Political Report of the party Central Committee presented by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh this morning and with the report on the socioeconomic development orientations and tasks of our party from now till 1990.

The statement of the delegation of the capital has pointed out frankly the shortcomings and weaknesses in Hanoi's socioeconomic development over the past years and said that the responsibility for this situation mainly rests with the municipal party organization.



Comrade Nguyen Thanh Binh expressed the determination of the Hanoi municipal party organization to concretize the party's line on socioeconomic development and achieve the socioeconomic targets to be determined by the sixth party congress. He said:

[Begin recording] In the process of economic development, we must constantly consolidate and perfect production relations, improve operational methods, continue struggling against bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, and vigorously switch to the mechanism of planning in accordance with the socialist accounting and business methods in order to enable the socialist economy to truly retain a leading role and operate with high efficiency. At the same time, we must enforce policies to encourage the household economy and individual economy sectors to develop production and service in the correct direction aimed at mobilizing the strengths of the people to solve the problems of employment for laborers, create more products for society, and stabilize and improve life.

As an industrial center, the capital will expand its economic integration with other localities, especially the northern provinces, in order to exploit the strong position of each locality for mutual replenishment and assistance. We welcome and will create favorable conditions for other provinces and cities to bring in their products for direct circulation on the Hanoi market.

We will try to vigorously develop the production of export goods and expand economic integration with the capitals of all socialist countries, especially Moscow, in all three domains -- doing work on contract, labor cooperation, and joint business and enterprise between the two sides. We will always give priority to our cooperation with Vientiane and Phnom Penh to help strengthen, foster, and expand comprehensively the special relations among Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and, at the same time, pay great attention to the contributions of overseas Vietnamese and international organizations, in terms of science and investment, to the construction of the capital in accordance with state policies and laws.

In light of the present situation, the issue of making the party pure and strong and enhancing its militancy and the issue related to cadres have become a decisive factor to ensure our party's stature as a ruling party, which is simultaneously carrying out the two strategic tasks. Apart from the common issues concerning party building as specified in the political report, our administration and mass organizations are paying attention to party building work at the city ward level -- the place where social activities are taking place beside production and other tasks without a suitable form of organization to enable all party members, youth union members, and members of other mass organizations to develop their leading and exemplary role in various activities of the municipality. [applause] [end recording]

After the speech delivered by Comrade Nguyen Thanh Binh, Comrade Pham Van Dong solemnly invited Comrade Ligachev, head of the CPSU delegation, to take the floor for a speech.

At the end of Comrade Phan Van Dong's introduction, all delegates in the conference hall stood up and applauded explosively. This displayed our entire party's confidence in the CPSU, the party of great Lenin. Comrade Ligachev said:

The Soviet delegation listened closely to the political report of the CPV Central Committee delivered by esteemed Comrade Truong Chinh. The report represents creativity, practicality, and serious effort to evaluate the tasks of the past period and create new concepts in formulating measures to carry out the development tasks of the SRV. We are confident that with this political report, with the proceedings of the

congress, and with the resolutions to be adopted at this congress, a totally new situation will be ushered in by the activities of your party and nation.

Comrade Ligachev then hailed the report for its clear presentation of the facts and said: According to Lenin's testament, this is the strength of a Marxist-Leninist party. He expressed his delight in seeing that the CPV's socioeconomic policy is similar to the strategy of accelerating the economy adopted by the 27th CPSU Congress.

He stressed: The Soviet Union's unswerving stand of consistently strengthening the SRV-USSR long-standing friendship was again apparent at the meetings between Comrades Gorbachev and Truong Chinh in August and November this year amid the fraternal and totally understanding atmosphere. Agreements reached at the high-level meetings have ushered in a new stage of coordination and improved effectiveness of cooperation, especially in the economic field. The Soviet-Vietnamese relations and cooperation have been increasingly strengthened on a realistic basis focusing on Vietnam's requirements and capabilities in the present period of development.

Developing cooperation with Vietnam is an international obligation of the fraternal socialist countries. At the meeting in Moscow, leaders of various fraternal parties adopted a decision to design a special CEMA program aimed at developing the economies of Vietnam, Mongolia, and Cuba. For its part, the Soviet Union and the CPSU will do their best to implement this program. Our common task now is to make sure every socioeconomic project built with Soviet assistance in Vietnam is commissioned on schedule and able to effect the highest possible results, thereby helping to solve promptly Vietnam's problems. It is believed that the strengthening of a number of light, food processing, and consumer goods industrial sectors in the Soviet Union and the establishment of direct trade relations between the Soviet Union and the Far East will become important aspects of cooperation between our two countries. [applause]

Comrade Ligachev left the floor while the congress expressed its warm and strong sentiments. All delegates and the Presidium stood up and applauded explosively. Comrades Truong Chinh and Pham Van Dong warmly hugged and shook hands with Comrade Ligachev. They tightly held and raised their hands high. [applause]

Afterward, Comrade Vo Tran Chi, secretary of the Ho Chi Minh City party committee delivered a speech. He brought to the congress the creative voice of the party organization and people of the city named after Uncle Ho Chi Minh. The city has set a dynamic example of economic development for provinces throughout the country. The comrade presented a summary on the draft project of Ho Chi Minh City aimed at resolutely fulfilling the three economic programs to be set forth by the Sixth CPV Congress, namely grain production, export goods, and especially consumer goods — the strength of the city. He continued:

[Begin recording] In the light of the congress resolutions, the city must pay attention to promptly implementing tasks with new spirit to contribute to carrying out the three common programs of the nation. The city, however, cannot ensure success for all tasks. As a result, the city urgently proposes to the central government to supply more electric power to the city and adjacent regions. It asks that work at the Tri An hydroelectric power plant be accelerated so that by the end of 1987 the first generating machine will be commissioned, and that the Thu Duc and Can Tho thermoelectric power plants be expanded.

The 1986-90 plan should include the construction of the Ham Thuan hydroelectric power plant in order to ensure sufficient electric power in the year 1990. Along with

developing the electricity network for the region, accelerating work at the Tri An hydroelectric power plant, and establishing the national electric power network, we must formulate a general plan in the spirit of putting electric power requirement a step in advance.

The decisive factor is that various policies must be urgently renovated as stated in the Political Report. These are the policies on national finance, accumulation, and expenditure, policies toward the workers and socialist transformation, and other policies on banking, supply of materials, encouraging production, prices, the value of foreign currencies, and so forth. We must strive to improve the managerial mechanism and eliminate the former bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies. We need time to carry out these tasks, but the urgency of the situation does not allow us to delay these tasks.

The last and most important things are that we must have a practical mechanism and competent personnel. These are decisive factors. On behalf of the city party organization and people, the Ho Chi Minh City delegation pledges that they will do their best to be worthy of the confidence of the congress, comrades, countrymen throughout the country, and the city named after esteemed Uncle Ho. [applause] [end recording]

Afterward, the congress was especially moved when Comrade Pham Van Dong solemnly invited Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan, head of the LPRP delegation, to deliver a speech. The Presidium and delegates at the congress again stood and welcomed Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan.

Comrade Kayson Phomvihan conveyed warm greetings to and wished our sixth party congress every possible success. He stressed the militant solidarity between the LPRP and the CPV — comrades-in-arms during the past decades — and the close relationship of the two parties, which were previously joined as the Indochinese Communist Party founded and forged by Comrade Ho Chi Minh.

Comrade Kaysone Phomvihan stressed: Dear comrades, the special militant solidarity, the great friendship, and the comprehensive cooperation between Laos and Vietnam and among Laos, Vietnam and Cambodia that were established and forged by President Ho Chi Minh and our three parties have become a priceless heritage, a fine tradition, an existing and developing axiom of our three countries, and an invincible and great strength.

We are very moved to note that under conditions of numerous difficulties, you comrades have unyieldingly carried out the lofty international obligation toward the Lao and Cambodian revolutions, thereby manifesting Vietnam's key role in the strategic alliance of our three countries. We have always realized that protecting and developing the solidarity among our three countries are political tasks, sentiments, and the common revolutionary principle of our three parties and peoples.

We pledge that we will do our best to protect and strengthen militant solidarity and comprehensive cooperation with Vietnam and Cambodia and contribute to strengthening the cooperation and assistance between the three countries with increasingly high quality and effectiveness, thereby enabling the three countries to develop their strengths and appropriately contribute to increasing the strength of the socialist community and the struggle for peace and security in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world. [applause]



Next, Senior General Le Duc Anh, on behalf of the party organization of the Armed Forces, took the floor. He expressed the confidence of all party members, cadres, combatants, workers, and national defense personnel in the party's clear-sighted leadership and fully agreed with the Political Report of the party Central Committee presented by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh.

Highlighting the determination of the people's Armed Forces to devote all their ability and intellect to creating a new strength and overcoming all difficulties and ordeals in order to firmly defend the independence and freedom of the fatherland, Comrade Le Duc Anh said:

[Begin recording] For years, our country has gone through many extremely painful ordeals. Today, the enemy still does not want to leave us in peace. In each stage of advancement, despite the advantage, our revolution still encounters no fewer difficulties. However, we are not wavering. With firm confidence in the decisive success of the congress, our People's Armed Forces pledge to thoroughly implement its resolutions and, together with their comrades and compatriots, fulfill successfully the task of firmly defending the socialist fatherland and other tasks entrusted by the party.

The Vietnam People's Army pledges to remain always worthy of being a reliable tool of the party and state. Firmly maintaining and upholding the title of Uncle Ho's soldiers, our entire Army is determined to keep great the teachings of Uncle Ho -- be loyal to the country and for the sake of socialism; and fulfill all tasks, overcome all difficulties, and defeat all enemies -- shining and alive forever. [applause] [end recording]

After that, Comrade Pham Van Dong formally invited Comrade Heng Samrin, general secretary of the KPRP, to deliver his speech. Once again all presidium members and delegates at the conference hall stood and applauded resoundingly.

Comrade Heng Samrin brought to our party congress the profound sentiments of a nation being brought back to life, the iron-willed loyalty of the Cambodian cadres and party members -- inheritors of the noble cause of the Indochinese Communist Party -- and the wishes for the brilliant success of the congress.

Warmly praising the achievements of the party and people of Vietnam and the brilliant and noble internationalist sentiment they have accorded the party and people of Cambodia, Comrade Heng Samrin said:

For the Cambodian people, the victory of the Vietnamese revolution remains always a source of encouragement for and a positive contribution to encouraging the Cambodian people and revolutionary armed forces to uphold their fighting spirit and their determination to defeat all schemes of the colonialist, imperialist, and expansionist forces and the genocidal clique aimed at safeguarding their independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

Like their vanguard party, the Cambodian people highly value the effective and timely assistance and support -- in terms of moral, material, and flesh and bone -- given by the Vietnamese people to the struggle for the liberation of the Cambodian people and their country from the genocidal Pol Pot regime and for their rapid revival.

The Cambodian people and the KPRP highly value the militant solidarity and lofty and selfless sacrifice of the Vietnamese Army volunteer troops and experts during the past 8



years. The valuable activities of the Vietnamese comrades-in-arms have contributed positively to building and defending Cambodia and have led to a gradual improvement in the livelihood of our people. We will remember forever and would like to express our profound gratitude to the Vietnamese mothers, fathers, and sisters for their noble and valuable contributions to our country.

On this occasion, on behalf of the KPRP and the Cambodian people, we would like to express our profound affection and gratitude to the glorious CPV and heroic Vietnamese people. We realize that the militant solidarity, friendship, and all-round cooperation between Vietnam and Cambodia and among the three Indochinese countries are an issue of vital importance to the destiny of these three countries.

More than ever before, it is our duty to jointly strengthen this relationship so that it will become a ~~strong~~ bond that cannot be broken by any enemy.

Afterwards, Comrade Jorge Isguet, head of the Cuban Communist Party delegation, took the floor and delivered a speech. He brought to our party congress great encouragement — the rising spirit for freedom of the heroic Cuban Communist Party and people. He said: Dear Vietnamese friends, 30 years ago, under the leadership of Fidel, the "Granma" returned to Cuba, beginning the struggle for liberation. Today, through its longest voyage, the "Granma" has arrived in Vietnam. The ocean through which the ship has passed is in fact the evergreen friendship of the two heroic nations. From the fraternal land of Cuba, we convey to all comrades and the brave Vietnamese people warm greetings from our Communist Party and people, particularly the warmest greetings from Comrade Fidel Castro.

This historic congress is being convened in an atmosphere of comprehensive criticism and self-criticism. It is an event to affirm the success of the revolution and it will again strengthen the tradition of solidarity and unyielding struggle — the quality that the CPV has used to successfully lead the revolution — that today it has become the firm vanguard banner of the Marxist-Leninist principles and the proletarian internationalism for peace, independence, and socialism.

He stressed: Dear Vietnamese friends, we can affirm that Cuba will forever uphold the banner of socialism and proletarian internationalism in the Western Hemisphere.

In their difficult yet fine revolutionary tasks, we have always received the friendly support of the USSR, countries in the socialist community, and peace- and justice-loving forces in the world. In manifesting this solidarity we have always received the brilliant friendship from the fraternal Vietnamese people, government, and the glorious CPV. We convey to you comrades, our boundless gratitude.

To conclude the afternoon session of the Sixth CPV Congress, Comrade Pham Van Dong solemnly introduced Comrade Josef Ceyrek, head of the delegation of the Polish United Workers Party [PZPR] to deliver a speech. He expressed feeling honored at being able to attend the Sixth CPV Congress. He introduced the achievements in socioeconomic development scored by the PZPR during the past years, hailed the friendship between the PZPR and the CPV, and expressed belief in the success of our party congress.

He said: We believe that the congress which is being convened in the heroic capital of Hanoi of the unified Vietnam will adopt turning-point resolutions for triumphantly implementing the tasks of socialist construction in your country. The fine contents of the reports and proposals which we listened to closely have shown this. With integration and profound evaluation in a cold and constructive manner and the ability

to solve various difficult problems — many of which were the consequences of colonialism and the protracted aggression by imperialism against your country — we believe that the heroic Vietnamese people will always demonstrate their bravery, great sacrifice, and ardent patriotism under the CPV's leadership, will overcome difficulties and fulfill great tasks in the cause of developing their socialist fatherland, and satisfactorily fulfill President Ho Chi Minh's testament — the great son of this country.

From the bottom of our hearts, we wish you comrades fulfill this task. Our two parties and nations are tied by the close fraternal friendship and proletarian internationalism. This relationship has blossomed during the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people against colonialism and imperialism. The similarity in our history and experience have tied our two peoples. We have paid most dearly for freedom and independence. This has created favorable conditions for broad cooperation between Poland and Vietnam in all fields.

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## 16 DECEMBER CONGRESS PROCEEDINGS

### Morning Session

BK161804 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1100 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Excerpts] Dear friends: This morning, 16 December, the second day of the congress, the congress remained in session. Comrade Vo Chi Cong chaired the session. At the opening of the session, those participating in the congress heard a speech by Comrade Pham Hung, member of the Council of Ministers, minister of interior, and a delegate from Cuu Long Province.

On behalf of the Ministry of Interior and of the People's Public Security Force, Comrade Pham Hung showed a total identity of view with and favored all the party Central Committee's evaluations of the national situation and the party's orientations and tasks for socioeconomic development for the 5-year period 1986-90 presented by Comrades Truong Chinh and Vo Van Kiet at the opening session of the congress. Apart from those achievements gained in study work, the comrade frankly pointed out deficiencies and shortcomings displayed by the People's Security Force: In the contingent of People's Public Security combatants, there remain negative manifestations such as coercing the masses, taking bribes, and embezzling socialist property.

The comrade emphasized the urgent need to renovate the performance of the People's Public Security Force. He said:

[Begin Pham Hung recording] Defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland on a national scale involves not only the need to defend sovereignty and territorial integrity — without letting the enemy occupy an inch of our fatherland's soil — but also the need to defend the political system of the socialist regime; to defend the policy lines and the organization of the CPV; to defend the unified solidarity bloc among the people of various nationalities; to defend the worker-peasant alliance bloc; to defend the new economy, new culture, and new man; and to defend the pure Marxist-Leninist thoughts now flourishing gradually in our revolutionary cause. Building and defending are two sides of a work process.

Therefore, defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland must become a content of and a mechanism within the process of developing socialist construction in our country. Defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland must become the habit in the thoughts and actions of every communist party member and of every Vietnamese citizen, whatever their position or field of activity.

The spirit of revolutionary vigilance and the sense of defense must be constantly upheld by every one in his daily work and must be regarded as a matter directly concerning the safety of life, work, labor, and production. We must maintain constant vigilance against the enemy. They are sabotaging us in various areas without sparing any sectors or any establishments. They are taking advantage of any negligences -- no matter where it exists -- on our part to sabotage us. Outwardly, they look as if they do not want to hurt anyone's feelings. But inside, they are very perfidious and dangerous.

We must make our internal ranks clean and steadfast, scrupulously comply with the party discipline and the state law and order, strictly enforce all the management regulations and systems, and resolutely do away with all negative phenomena and completely guard against negligence without giving the enemy a chance to sabotage us. [end recording]  
[applause]

Next, Comrade Le Thanh Nhan, secretary of the Hau Giang Provincial Party Committee and delegate from the Hau Giang Provincial Party Organization, took the floor. His report brought to the congress the voice of agricultural workers in an important agricultural region of the fatherland. After affirming that Hau Giang is a major agricultural province and pointing out its past achievements, Comrade Le Thanh Nhan criticized the shortcomings committed by the local party organization in stepping up agricultural production and, at the same time, boldly and frankly citing the very difficult problems that his province cannot resolve without the cooperation and assistance of other localities and the central level, particularly the problem concerning supplies that must be imported from foreign countries. He voiced the following opinions"

[Begin Le Thanh Nhan recording] We have on many occasions made suggestions and today, I would like to continue making suggestions based on the ideas contributed at party congresses held at various levels in our province.

1. The central level should concentrate investment in agricultural production, especially grain production, to boost productivity and output in the most productive areas that are seldom hit by natural calamities such as typhoons and flooding and are capable of turning out plenty of grain. In our opinion, the Mekong delta, with its large arable land and favorable climate, is a region with great potential for producing grain and food and producing and processing agricultural and marine products for export. Therefore, appropriate concentrated investments should be made to tap the potentials there more satisfactorily at an early date so as to meet the local demand for grain and make an important contribution to the whole country. To say this does not mean that we take other grain-producing regions lightly.

2. Given little capital investment and the limited capability of the central level, we ask that the central level establish fixed grain obligation quotas for the localities on a 5-year basis and allow the localities to balance their budgets by using the products they have turned out. After fulfilling their quota obligations, they may engage in exporting and effect economic integration with other localities in order to purchase equipment and supplies needed for agricultural production and consumer goods for use locally and to make a contribution to the entire country.

3. The central level and the ministries concerned should study the adoption of appropriate policies designed to resolve the production of grain by establishing the ratio for two-way exchanges of fertilizer, insecticides, gasoline and oil, timber, and cement for paddy with the peasants; readjusting the price of paddy for each crop season; reducing agricultural taxes because the current policy involves an all too



detailed classification of lands and an exorbitant tax rate of 700-kg per hectare; reexamining the prices of industrial consumer goods to make it compatible with the prices of grain, agricultural products, and foodstuffs; and providing incentive benefits for cadres of villages producing grain and food and making contributions to the state whose life is beset with difficulties at present.

We have made specific suggestions concerning these problems and hope that the central level will study and settle them after the congress. [end recording] [applause]

After Comrade Le Thanh Nhan finished his report, Comrade Vo Chi Cong cordially invited Comrade Josef Kempny, head of the Communist Party of Czechoslovakia delegation, to read his greetings.

Following the greetings of the Czechoslovak Communist Party, Comrade Vo Chi Cong invited Comrade Werner Krolkowski, head of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany [SED] delegation, to take the floor. Comrade Krolkowski brought to our congress the fraternal regards of the SED.

Later, the congress delegates listened attentively to the greetings presented by Comrade Mamori Csaba, head of the Hungarian Socialist Workers Party [MSZMP] delegation. The comrade talked about the efforts, research, and measures of the MSZMP aimed at accelerating economic development over the past years. He welcomed the CPV's new attitude and spirit of making changes in economic thinking.

Dear friends: Next, Comrade Altangerel, head of the MPRP delegation, brought to our party congress greetings of victory and vigorous advancement from the MPRP. After praising the party and people of Vietnam for their tradition of persistent struggle, their heroism, and their firmness in overcoming all obstacles and ordeals as shown in the past recent years, the comrade said:

[Begin Altangerel recording in Mongolian fading into Vietnamese translation] With its seriousness highly reflective of the party character and with its workstyle bearing a principled character, the characteristics of your congress this time are to defend the actual image of Vietnam and to implement successfully all the new, great tasks in the cause of socialist construction. The communists, the laboring people of Mongolia note with joy and pride the results and achievements scored by fraternal Vietnam in socialist construction. We are convinced that the traditional friendship and the close cooperation between the MPRP and the CPV as well as between the MPR and the SRV will continue to be strengthened and developed on the basis of those fixed principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism consistent with the fundamental interests of our two peoples. With the SRV constantly consolidating its fraternal friendship and its multifaceted cooperation with the Soviet Union and with other countries in the socialist community, it has become an impregnable outpost of peace and socialism in Southeast Asia. [end recording] [applause]

Comrade Grish Filipov, head of the Bulgarian Communist Party delegation, an envoy from the Balkan peninsula, brought our party congress greetings from a country that is rising vigorously thanks to its own efforts and its close cooperation with the Soviet Union over the years.

Following the greetings by the delegation of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the congress was enthused by the greetings of the delegation of the Romanian Communist party delivered by Comrade Ion Coman, leader of the delegation.

Dear friends, following the morning recess, the congress heard a report from the delegation of the party organization of Nghe Tinh, the birthplace of great President Ho Chi Minh, delivered by Comrade Nguyen Ky Cam, secretary of the provincial party committee. After pointing out the traditions of his party organization and expressing total agreement on the Political Report of the party Central Committee, the comrade clearly affirmed the determination of the Nghe Tinh party organization to carry out the three programs from economic development adopted by the sixth congress.

Afterward, Comrade Nguyen Thi Dinh, chairwoman of the Vietnam Women's Union, delegate from Ben Tre Province, expressed her views. The comrade raised the voice and earnest aspirations of the Vietnam Women's Union [VWU].

The congress delegates then heard the greetings presented by the Albanian Workers Party delegation led by Comrade Xhemal Dymylja.

Friends, concluding this morning's congress work were greetings by the WPK delegation led by Comrade Kim Yong-chae.

Friends, the congress session on the afternoon of 16 December was under the chairmanship of Comrade Pham Hung. The following foreign delegations delivered their speeches of greetings: the Sandinista National Liberation Front delegation, the Portuguese Communist Party delegation, the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front delegation of El Salvador, the French Communist Party delegation, the Japanese Communist Party delegation, the Ethiopian Workers Party, the German Communist Party or DKP delegation, the Communist Party of India -- CPI, the Italian Communist Party delegation, the Communist Party of Chile delegation, the Afghan People's Democratic Party delegation, and the delegation of the National Congress Party of India.

#### Afternoon Session

BK162145 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 16 Dec 86

[By radio correspondent Kim Cuc]

[Excerpts] Dear friends, this afternoon's session of the sixth party congress was held in the conference hall under the direction of Comrade Pham Hung. At this session, the delegates heard the warm greetings imbued with lofty internationalist sentiments sent from communist and workers' parties and revolutionary movements to the communists and people of Vietnam and the fatherland of President Ho Chi Minh.

The session was opened with the hearty and warm greetings of Comrade Luis Carrion Cruz, member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, revolutionary commander, and head of the delegation of Sandinist National Liberation Front of heroic Nicaragua.

The greetings from the delegation of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua was followed by the greetings from Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, who reserved fine sentiments for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese people for national defense. He praised the intensive efforts made by the Vietnamese people in national construction as well as in the defense of world peace.

The greetings by Comrade Jorge Shafik Handal, general secretary of the Salvadoran Communist Party and head of the delegation of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front of El Salvador, also received enthusiastic applause when he talked in fine words about Vietnam, the CPV, President Ho Chi Minh, and about the friendship between the two peoples of Vietnam and El Salvador.

The greetings read next by Comrade Maxim Gremetz, Political Bureau member and Central Committee secretary of the French Communist Party, opened with moving words when he talked about the close relations between the two communist parties of France and Vietnam.

Following the greetings of Comrade Maxim Gremetz was the greetings of Comrade Horomu Murakami, vice chairman of the Presidium of the Japanese Communist Party [JCP] Central Committee.

The greetings of female Comrade Ellen Weber, vice chairman of the Communist Party of Germany, began with the recollection of memory about the many street demonstrations staged by the FRG people against the U.S. war of aggression against Vietnam. The comrade said that the many heroic struggles of Vietnam have served as a departure point and also as a catalyst for many youths in your country to become communists.

The greetings of female Comrade Ellen Weber were followed by those of Comrade N. Rajasekhara Reddi, secretary of the National Committee of the Communist Party of India (CPI), of Comrade Ignio Arrienna, member of the Communist Party of Italy Central Committee, of Comrade Harkishan Singh Surjeet, member of the Political Bureau of the Communist Party of India-Marxist, that of Comrade (Horabe Montes), deputy general secretary of the Chilean Communist Party, that of Comrade Haider Masoud, secretary of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and that of Mr (Singh), a senator and head of the delegation of the National Congress Party-India.

Their greetings conveyed warm regards to the Vietnamese Communists and people who have been devoting their talents and energy to overcoming all difficulties in order to score achievements in national construction and defense as well as in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy and socialism.

Their greetings expressed lofty sentiments for the Vietnamese Communist Party, the Vietnamese people, and President Ho Chi Minh. The following greetings expressed by Mr Singh, head of the National Congress Party-India, are typical.

Friends, it can be said that in this afternoon's session of the Sixth CPV Congress, the delegates received very warm and profound international sentiments from our comrades and friends from all over the world. We consider this a source of great encouragement for Vietnam's revolutionary cause in the new stage.

#### Evening Session

BK170425 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 2300 GMT 16 Dec 86

[By radio correspondent Tran Trong Truy]

[Excerpts] Motivated by a high communist spirit and party character, the Sixth CPV Congress continued its work last night. On behalf of the congress presidium, Comrade Nguyen Ky Can directed the session.

The session opened with a statement by Comrade Le Duc Binh, secretary of the Hai Hung provincial party committee and delegate of the Hai Hung provincial party organization.

Following Comrade Le Duc Binh's speech, Comrade Pham The Duyet, acting chairman of the VCTU and delegate from the Quang Ninh provincial party organization, presented to the congress the thoughts of the working class and the practical progress made in work related to workers' motivation.

Next, Comrade Nguyen Ky Can invited Comrade Cu Huy Can, minister in charge of cultural and ideological work and national deputy from Nghe Tinh Province, to deliver his speech.

At the conclusion of last night's session, the congress heard a statement by Comrade Pham Van Kiet, deputy director of the party Central Committee Proselytizing Department and delegate of the Minh Hai provincial party organization, on mass motivation work.

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## LEADERS' RESIGNATION ANNOUNCED DURING 17 DECEMBER SESSION

BK171013 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0905 GMT 17 Dec 86

[Report on 17 December morning session of Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] The sixth party congress continued its work this morning 17 December at the Ba Dinh conference hall under the direction of Comrade Le Duc Anh. Opening this morning session, the Vietnamese and international delegates observed a minute of silence in remembrance of Comrade Henry Winston, national chairman of the Communist Party USA who just died.

Then, the participants in the congress listened to the statements of the local delegates and the greetings of the international delegations. The statement by Comrade Nguyen Co Thach, foreign minister, the delegate of Ha Nam Ninh provincial party organization; the statement by Comrade Nguyen Van Hieu, dean of the Vietnam Science Institute, the delegate of Ha Son Binh provincial party organization; the greetings of Comrade Haidrah Masdoos, alternate member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Haile Provincial Party Committee and head of the Yemen Socialist Party delegation; the greetings of Comrade Maurice Jackson, member of the party Central Committee and head of the Communist Party USA delegation; the greetings of Comrade (Daniel Abili) secretary of party Central Committee and head of the Congolese Labor Party delegation; the greetings of Paulo de Castro, alternate member of the party Central Committee and head of the External Relations Department and the delegation of the Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola-Labor Party; the statement by Comrade Vu Mao, first secretary of the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union Central Committee, the delegate of Ha Tuyen provincial party organization; the statement by Comrade Duong Van Phuc, veteran party member and member of the Ho Chi Minh City retired cadres club; the greetings of Comrade Julian Mchila, member of the party Central Committee and head of the delegation of the Mozambique Liberation Front; the greetings of Comrade (Whitmore Sizakile Sitnetsi), member of the Central Committee and representative of African National Congress of Africa delegation; the greetings of Mr Sharif 'Ali Meshal, member of the Revolutionary Council, chief of the Foreign Affairs Department, and head of the PLO delegation; the greetings of Comrade John Nkadimeng, general secretary of the South African Congress of Trade Unions and member of the ANC National Executive Committee; the greetings of Comrade Obes Emvula, party Central Committee member of the delegation of the South-West African People's Organization of Namibia.

Dear friends, at this morning's session, following the reports by domestic delegates and greetings by international delegations, Comrade Le Duc Anh invited Comrade Pham Hung to represent the Presidium in expressing the views of the congress Presidium on accepting the opinion of three comrades, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, and Le Duc Tho not to stand for election to the present term of the Central Committee. Next, friends, please listen to our recording of this event.

[Begin recording] [Le Duc Anh] Before starting the election of the new Central Committee, I would like to respectfully introduce Comrade Pham Hung, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau, who will present the views of the Presidium on the three top party leaders' decision not to stand for election to the new Central Committee.

[Pham Hung] Dear comrade congress delegates, we are going to elect members of the new Central Committee. This is an extremely important duty of our congress toward the revolutionary cause of our class and nation. Regarding the name list of candidates nominated for the party Central Committee sixth term, at the request of Comrade Truong Chinh, Comrade Pham Van Dong, and Comrade Le Duc Tho, the congress Presidium agrees to respect those three comrades' right not to stand for election on the ground of advanced age and failing health. This noble gesture by the three comrades highlights the valuable tradition of our nation and our party that the previous generation solicitously guides the next generation and that the next generation faithfully carries on the work of the previous generation. [applause]

Comrade Truong Chinh, Comrade Pham Van Dong, and Comrade Le Duc Tho are outstanding disciples of respected and beloved Uncle Ho and the closest comrades-in-arms of Comrade Le Duan and many veteran communists. The Presidium proposes that the party's sixth national congress solemnly commend the great meritorious services rendered to the party and the people by Comrade Truong Chinh, Comrade Pham Van Dong, and Comrade Le Duc Tho in the interests of the revolutionary cause of our party and our people. [applause]

The congress heartily praised the three comrades for their example in justice and impartiality, loyalty to the country, and fidelity to the people. They are stalwart leading cadres rich in experience and faithful and outstanding communist combatants who are loved by the entire party and people and respected by the international communist and workers' movement and by our friends in the world.

The congress unanimously entrusts the three comrades, Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, and Le Duc Tho, with the lofty duty of serving as advisers to the party Central Committee. [applause]

Once again, I wish to express the love, respect, and gratitude of the entire party, people, and army toward Comrades Truong Chinh, Pham Van Dong, and Le Duc Tho. [prolonged applause]

Our congress respectfully wishes the three comrades good health and longevity, and continued contributions to our party's collective intelligence in their new and heavy duty. [prolonged applause]

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## **CONGRESS CLOSES 18 DECEMBER**

### **Morning Session**

**BK180521 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0500 GMT 18 Dec 86**

[Text] According to a Voice of Vietnam correspondent, this morning the sixth party congress continued its work at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall under the direction of comrade Do Muoi. During the session, the delegates heard statements by Comrades (Ama Puoc), delegate of the Dac Lac provincial party organization; Tran Nhon, delegate of the bloc of central agricultural organs' party organization; Vu Tuyen Hoang, delegate of the Hai Hung provincial party organization; Nguyen Huu Quang, delegate of the bloc of central (?forestry) organs' party organization; Tran Luu Vi, delegate of the Vinh Phu provincial party organization; Tran Anh Vinh, delegate of the Bac Thai provincial party organization; Nguyen Thi Binh, delegate of the Quang Nam-Danang provincial party organization; and Thuy Quynh, delegate of the bloc of ideological organs' party organization.

### **Closing Session**

**OW190901 Hanoi VNA in English 0820 GMT 19 Dec 86**

[Excerpts] Hanoi VNA Dec. 18 — The 6th National Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam closed here today after four days' sitting.

At the closing session presided over by Nguyen Duc Tam, Politburo member and secretary of the party Central Committee, the delegates heard the draft resolution of the congress read by Nguyen Van Hieu, member of the presidium.

The draft resolution says:

"After having discussed the Political Report and the report on the main orientations and targets of the socio-economic development in the 1986-90 period of the party Central Committee, respectively delivered by General Secretary Truong Chinh and Vice-chairman of the Council of Ministers Vo Van Kiet, the 6th national party congress affirmed its determination to renovate the party leadership in a revolutionary and scientific spirit".

The draft resolution defines the overall tasks and general objectives in the coming years of the initial stage of the transitional period to socialism, namely to stabilize the situation in all fields, more particularly the socio-economic, promoting socialist industrialization in the subsequent periods.

The congress entrusted the new Central Committee with leading the successful implementation of the tasks set in the Political Report.

The draft resolution stresses: "The 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam expresses the party's determination to uphold the banner of Marxism-Leninism, to continue advancing along the path charted by President Ho Chi Minh to encourage the entire party, people and Army to do their utmost for national independence, freedom and socialism. The Vietnamese Communists are determined to be the worthy vanguard in this glorious revolutionary cause."

The draft resolution was unanimously adopted by the congress.

On behalf of the presidium of the congress, Nguyen Duc Tam announced the results of the elections to the new Central Committee.

Nguyen Duc Tam officially informed the congress that the newly-elected Central Committee had reached complete unanimity in electing Nguyen Van Linh its general secretary.

The delegates gave a standing long ovation to the new party leader.

#### Central Committee Members

BK181015 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0814 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Announcement by Nguyen Duc Tam, member of the Central Committee Political Bureau, on the election of the Sixth CPV Central Committee announced at the closing session of the Sixth CPV Congress at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi -- live]

[Text] Dear comrade congress delegates, now on behalf of the congress presidium, I would like to report on the results of the election of the Central Committee, sixth term. The Sixth National Congress of Delegates of the CPV has elected the party Central Committee, sixth term, in accordance with the party statutes and with the electoral procedures adopted by the congress. Pursuant to the vote count report by the vote tabulation committee, 173 comrades have been elected to the party Central Committee, sixth term -- including 124 full members and 49 alternate members. [applause] The namelist of 124 full members of the party Central Committee is as follows:

1. Nguyen Van An [Nguyeenx Vawn An]
2. Le Duc Anh [Lee Dquwca Anh]
3. Tran Xuan Bach [Traanf Xuaan Bachs]
4. Pham Bai [Phamj Baia]
5. Nguyen Thanh Binh [Nguyeenx Thanh Binhf]
6. Nguyen Duc Binh [Nguyeenx Dquwca Binhf]
7. Le Duc Binh [Lee Dquwca Binhf]
8. Nguyen Thoi Bung [Nguyeenx Thowia Buwng]



9. Hoang Cam [Hoangf Caamf]
10. Nguyen Manh Cam [Nguyeenx Manhj Caamf]
11. Nguyen Ky Cam [Nguyeenx Kyf Caamr]
12. Huynh Van Can [Huynhf Vawn Caanf]
13. Vo Chi Cong [Vox Chis Coong]
14. Nguyen Minh Chau [Nguyeenx Minh Chaaui]
15. Lu Minh Chau [Luwx Minh Chaaui]
- 16.. Nguyen Van Chi [Nguyeenx Vawn Chis]
17. Vo Tran Chi [Vox Traanf Chis]
18. Do Chinh [Dqoox Chins]
19. Nguyen Van Chinh [Nguyeenx Vawn Chins]
20. Cao Dang Chiem [Cao Dqawng Chieems]
21. Nguyen Chon [Nguyeenx Chown]
22. Nguyen Huy Chuong [Nguyeenx Huy Chuwong]
23. Nguyen Canh Dinh [Nguyeenx Canhr Dinh]
24. Pham Dinh Dy [Phamj Dqinhf Dy]
25. Le Van Dy [Lee Vawn Dyx]
26. Van Tien Dung [Vawn Ticens Dungx]
27. Pham The Duet [Phamj Thees Duyeetj]
28. Le Quang Dao [Lee Quang Dqaoj]
29. Tran Huu Duc [Traanf Huwux Dqawcs]
30. Nguyen Thi Dinh [Nguyeenx Thi j Dqinh]
31. Tran Do [Traanf Dqooj]
32. Tran Dong [Traanf Dqoong]
33. Nguyen Van Duc [Nguyeenx Vawn Dquwcs]
34. Vo Nguyen Giap [Vox Nguyeen Giap]

35. Hong Ha [Hoongf Haf]
36. Vu Ngoc Hai [Vux Ngocj Hair]
37. Nguyen Thi Hang [Nguyeenx Thij Hawngf]
38. Cu Thi Hau [Cuf Thij Haauj]
39. Pham Van Hy [Phamj Vawn Hy]
40. Le Ngoc Hien [Lee Ngocj Hieenf]
41. Nguyen Van Hieu [Nguyeenx Vawn Hieeuj]
42. Nguyen Hoa [Nguyeenx Hoaf], aka Hoa Dau Khi [Hoaf Daauf Khis]
43. Ha Trong Hoa [Haf Trongj Hoaf]
44. Tran Hoan [Traanf Hoanf]
45. Vu Tuyen Hoang [Vux Tuyeen Hoangf]
46. Vu Thi Hong [Vux Thij Hoongf]
47. Nguyen Van Hon [Nguyeenx Vawn Hown]
48. Pham Hung [Phamj Hungf]
49. Ha Thiet Hung [Haf Thieets Hungf]
50. Pham Hung [Phamj Huwng]
51. Tran Quoc Huong [Traanf Quoocs Huwong]
52. Nguyen Dinh Hung [Nguyeenx Dqinhf Huwng]
53. Dang Huu [Dqawng Huwux]
54. Nguyen Xuan Huu [Nguyeenx Xuaan Huwux]
55. Tran Kien [Traanf Kieen]
56. Vo Van Kiet [Vox Vawn Kieetj]
57. Le Van Kien [Lee Vawn Kieens]
58. Nguyen Khanh [Nguyeenx Khanhx]
59. Nguyen Nam Khanh [Nguyeenx Nam Khanhx]
60. Phan Van Khai [Phan Vawn Khair]

61. Doan Khue [Dqoanf Khuee]
62. Trinh Van Lau [Trinhj Vawn Laau]
63. Vu Lap [Vux Laap]
64. Nguyen Van Linh [Nguyeenx Vawn Linh]
65. Nguyen Thi Ngoc Lien [Nguyeenx Thij Ngocj Lieen]
66. Dinh Nho Liem [Dqinh Nho Lieem]
67. Phan Thanh Liem [Phan Thanh Lieem]
68. Pham Tam Long [Phamj Taam Long]
69. Dao Dinh Luyen [Dqaof Dqinhf Luyeenj]
70. Tran Duc Luong [Traanf Dquwcs Luwong]
71. Bui Danh Luu [Buif Danh Luwu]
72. Vu Mao [Vux Maox]
73. Hoang Truong Minh [Hoangf Truwongf Minh]
74. Y Mot [Y Mooj]
75. Do Muoi [Dqoox Muwof]
76. Huynh Van Niem [Huynhf Vawn Nieemf]
77. Nguyen Niem [Nguyeenx Nieemj]
78. Bui Thien Ngo [Buif Thieenj Ngooj]
79. Dam Van Nguy [Dqamf Vawn Nguy]
80. Dong Sy Nguyen [Dqoongf Syx Nguyeen]
81. Le Thanh Nhan [Lee Thanh Nhanf]
82. Vu Oanh [Vuh Oanh]
83. Trang A Pao [Trangs A Pao]
84. Tran Van Phac [Traanf Vawn Phacs]
85. Nguyen Thanh Quat [Nguyeenx Thanh Quaats]
86. Hoang Quy [Hoangfu Quy]

87. Nguyen Quyet [Nguyeenx Quyeets]
88. Tran Quyet [Traanf Quyeets]
89. Nguyen Van Sy [Nguyeenx Vawn Syx]
90. Nguyen Dinh So [Nguyeenx Dqinhf Sowr]
91. Hoang Bich Son [Hoangf Bichs Sown]
92. Nguyen Cong Tan [Nguyeenx Coong Tanj]
93. Phan Minh Tanh [Phan Minh Tanhs]
94. Tran Trong Tan [Traanf Trongj Taan]
95. Tran Tan [Traanf Taans]
96. Nguyen Duc Tam [Nguyeenx Dquwca Taan]
97. Nguyen Trung Tin [Nguyeenx Trung Tins]
98. Dao Duy Tung [Dqaof Duy Tungf]
99. Nguyen Dinh Tu [Nguyeenx Dqinhf Tuws]
100. Phan Ngoc Tuong [Phan Ngocj Tuwowngf]
101. Duong Tuong [Duwowng Tuwowngf]
102. Vo Viet Thanh [Vox Vieet Thanh]
103. Doan Duy Thanh [Dquoanf Duy Thanhf]
104. Le Quang Thanh [Lee Quang Thanhf]
105. Nguyeenx Co Thach [Nguyeenx Cow Thach]
106. La Thang [La Thavng]
107. Hoang Minh Thang [Hoangf Minh Thavngs]
108. Vu Thang [Vux Thavngs]
109. Do Quang Thang [Dqoox Quang Thavngs]
110. Nguyen Thi Than [Nguyeenx Thi] Thaan]
111. Lam Van The [Lam Vawn Thee]
112. Dang Thi [Dqawngj This]



113. Mai Chi Tho [Mai Chis Tho]
114. Le Phuc Tho [Lee Phuwoc Tho]
115. Nguyen Quoc Thuoc [Nguyeenx Quoccs Thuowocs]
116. Nguyen Ngoc Triu [Nguyeenx Ngoc Triuf]
117. Nguyen Tan Trinh [Nguyeenx Taans Trinh]
118. Le Van Triet [Lee Vawn Trieets]
119. Dam Quang Trung [Dqanf Quang Trung]
120. Nguyen Ky Uc [Nguyeenx Kys Uwcs]
121. Doan Thanh Vy [Dqoanf Thanh Vy]
122. Dau Ngoc Xuan [Dqauj Ngocj Xuaan]
123. Nguyen Trong Xuyen [Nguyeenx Trongj Xuyeen]
124. Le Danh Xuong [Lee Danh Xuowong]

Those are the 124 comrade members of the Central Committee. [applause]

Now I would like to read the namelist of alternate members of the Central Committee:

1. Do Van An [Dquoox Vawn Aan]
2. Nguyen Ba [Nguyeenx Bas]
3. Pham Van Binh [Phamj Vawn Binhs]
4. Vu Trong Canh [Vux Trongj Canhr]
5. Nguyen Nhieu Coc [Nguyeenx Nhieeu Coocs]
6. Tran Quang Co [Traanf Quang Cow]
7. Pham Nhu Cuong [Phamj Nhuw Cuwong]
8. Nguyen Tan Dung [Nguyeenx Taans Dungx]
9. Ha Dang [Haf Dqawng]
10. Phan Xuan Dot [Phan Xuaan Dqowt]
11. Tran Thi Duong [Traanf Thij Dquowongf]
12. Nguyen Dinh Giang [Nguyeenx Dqinhf Giang]
13. Pham Minh Hac [Phamj Minh Hacj]

14. Truong My Hoa [Truwong Myx Hoa]
15. Nguyen Hoa [Nguyeenx Hoaf] aka Hoa Quan Doi [Hoaf Quaan Dqooi]
16. Nguyen The Huu [Nguyeenx Thees Huwux]
17. Dang Xuan Ky [Dqawngj Xuaan Kyf]
18. Nguyen Xuan Ky [Nguyeenx Xuaan Kyr]
19. Cao Si Kiem [Cao Six Kieen]
20. Dinh Van Lap [Dqinh Vawn Lapj]
21. Ngo Xuan Loc [Ngoo Xuaan Locj]
22. Tran Lum [Traanf Lum]
23. Nguyen Duy Luan [Nguyeenx Duy Luan]
24. Nong Duc Manh [Noong Dquwca Manhj]
25. Nguyen Thi Minh [Nguyeenx Thi; Minh]
26. Nguyen Thi Xuan My [Nguyeenx Thi; Xuaan Myx]
27. Hoang Duc Nghi [Hoangf Dquwca Nghi]
28. Le Huy Ngo [Lee Huy Ngoj]
29. Nguyen Trong Nhan [Nguyeenx Trong; Nhaan]
30. A Ma Pui [A Ma Pui]
31. Lo Van Puan [Lof Vawn Puoons]
32. Nguyen Ha Phan [Nguyeenx Haf Phan]
33. Lam Phu [Lam Phus]
34. Tran Hong Quan [Traanf Hoongf Quaan]
35. Do Quoc Sam [Dquoox Quoocs Sam]
36. Le Tai [Lee Taif]
37. Nguyen Thi Tam [Nguyeenx Thi Taam]
38. Phan Van Tien [Phan Vawn Tienf]
39. Le Xuan Tung [Lee Xuaan Tungf]

40. Nguyen Van Tu [Nguyeenx Vavn Tuw]
41. Dang Van Than [Dqawngj Vavn Thaan]
42. Phan Thu [Phan Thu]
43. Ha Hoc Trac [Haf Hocj Tracj]
44. Nguyen Duc Trieu [Nguyeenx Dquwca Trieuf]
45. Truong Vinh Trong [Truwong Vinhx Trongj]
46. Do Quang Trung [Dqoox Quang Trung]
47. Ha Xuan Truong [Haf Xuaan Truwongf]
48. Nguyen Thi Hong Van [Nguyeenx Thi; Hoongf Vaan]
49. Nguyen Chi Vu [Nguyeenx Chis Vu]

This is the namelist of the 49 comrade alternate members of the Central Committee.  
[applause]

#### Political Bureau, Secretariat Members

BK181232 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0825 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Announcement by Nguyen Duc Tam, member of CPV Central Committee Political Bureau, on the election of the new CPV Political Bureau, Secretariat, and Control Commission at the closing session of the Sixth CPV Congress at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi — live]

[Text] Comrades: The Sixth Central Committee of the CPV has held its First Session to elect its general secretary, its Political Bureau, its Secretariat, and its Control Commission.

First of all, I would like to solemnly report to the congress that the Sixth Central Committee of the party has met. With the exception of one comrade who was absent because he was on a mission abroad, all the 123 Central Committee members attending the session have, with complete unanimity, elected Comrade Nguyen Van Linh as general secretary of our party Central Committee [prolonged applause].

Second, the Central Committee has elected 13 full members and one alternate member of the Political Bureau. The names of the 13 comrade members of the Political Bureau are:

1. Nguyen Van Linh
2. Phan Hung
3. Vo Chi Cong
4. Do Muoi
5. Vo Van Kiet
6. Le Duc Anh

7. Nguyen Duc Tam
8. Nguyen Co Thach
9. Dong Sy Nguyen
10. Tran Xuan Bach
11. Nguyen Thanh Binh
12. Doan Khue
13. Mai Chi Tho

And the comrade alternate member of the Political Bureau is Dao Duy Tung [Dqaof Duy Tungf]. [applause]

The Central Committee has elected the following 13 comrades to the Central Committee Secretariat:

1. Nguyen Van Linh
2. Nguyen Duc Tam
3. Tran Xuan Bach
4. Dao Duy Tung
5. Tran Kien
6. Le Phuoc Tho
7. Nguyen Quyet
8. Dam Quang Trung
9. Vu Oanh
10. Nguyen Khanh
11. Tran Quyet
12. Tran Quoc Huong
13. Pham The Duyet

Those are the 13 comrade members of the Central Committee Secretariat. [applause]

The Central Committee has also elected its Control Commission, which is composed of the following seven comrades:

1. Tran Kien, chairman



2. Tran Huu Duc, vice chairman
3. Vu Thi Hong, vice chairwoman
4. Trinh Van Lau, vice chairman
5. Do Thanh Tuyen, member
6. Vi Xuan Thanh, member
7. Vo Van Hien, member

Those are the seven comrade members of the Control Commission of the party Central Committee. [applause]

### Truong Chinh Delivers Closing Address

BK181110 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0830 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Speech by Truong Chinh delivered at closing session of the Sixth CPV Congress at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi -- live]

[Text] Presidium of the Congress, comrade delegates, distinguished guests:

I have on several occasions in the past requested that the party Central Committee assign me less heavy tasks for reasons of advanced age and bad health. Our party possesses a large number of cadres, many of whom have talents and ethical qualities and have assumed party and state responsibilities. Moreover, our party Central Committee works on the principle of democratic centralism. Our party's intelligence and creative abilities are those of the collective.

At this congress, I have also requested that I not stand for election to the next Central Committee. Comrade Pham Van Dong and Comrade Le Duc Tho have also made similar requests. The congress has approved our requests and entrusted us with the important responsibilities of advisers to the new Central Committee.

We are deeply moved by the warm sentiments and the trust which the congress has displayed toward us. On behalf of the entire party, we thank the congress for entrusting us with new important responsibilities. [applause] We promise the comrades to make every effort to fulfill our newly entrusted tasks and, together with the entire party, to preserve solidarity and unity within the party as we preserve our eyesight as taught us by the beloved and venerated President Ho Chi Minh, in order to achieve successes in the implementation of the important resolution which the sixth national congress of party delegates has passed. [applause]

I am convinced that the results of the congress will bring new strength to the entire party, people, and Armed Forces in struggling to overcome immediate difficulties and ordeals and to carry out satisfactorily the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly safeguarding the socialist fatherland of Vietnam and fulfilling their noble international duty. I wish the comrades delegates the best of health and new successes. I thank our international friends and comrades for coming to attend our congress. [applause]

## Nguyen Van Linh Closing Address

BK180926 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0833 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Closing speech by Nguyen Van Linh, newly elected general secretary of the CPV Central Committee closing session of the Sixth CPV Congress at the Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi -- live]

[Text] Dear comrades of the Presidium, distinguished guests, and dear comrade delegates:

With a high sense of responsibility to the party and people, after several days of positive and intensive work, today the sixth congress of our party has completed its work in a fine manner. [applause] The congress has complete unanimity with the viewpoints and policies set forth in the political report of the Central Committee and other documents presented by the Central Committee at the congress. It has unanimously approved the most important resolution on major policies aimed at changing the situation, and steadily advancing the country through difficulties and ordeals. [applause]

Delegates from all over the country and from all domains of party and state activities, have brought wisdom and earnest aspirations to the congress for our party to initiate vigorous renovation in leadership. Complete agreement with the correct decisions at the congress permits us to assert elatedly that the congress has responded to the expectations of all our party members and people. [applause]

The congress has elected the sixth party Central Committee, reflecting the continuity and successiveness in achieving the determination to renovate party leadership in line with the current revolutionary realities in our country. [applause] The congress delegates are deeply moved by the decision of the three elder leaders -- Comrades Truong Chinh, Pham Vang Dong, and Le Duc Tho -- not to stand for election to the party Central Committee this time and to assume willingly the duties of advisers to the party Central Committee and Political Bureau.

The three comrades have set a noble example of devotion to the revolution and communist purity. All party members and people are extremely grateful to the three comrades for their great merits and, from the bottom of our hearts, we sincerely wish the comrades continued good health to make contributions continually to the revolutionary cause of the party and people. [applause]

Fully aware of the heavy responsibility entrusted by the congress, on behalf of the comrades recently elected to the party Central Committee, we pledge to unite our hearts and pledge with all party members and people to do our utmost to implement successfully the congress resolutions. [applause]

Dear comrades, the voices filled with warm sentiments of brothers and friends in the world have reverberated far and wide throughout our country. The international delegates have brought to our Communists and people the faithful friendship, trust, and strong support of the great Soviet Union, bastion of peace and the world revolution; of the two close fraternal neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia; of other fraternal countries of the socialist community; of the international communist and workers movement; and of many close friends in the world. And from this congress, we once again express the profound gratitude and warm feelings of our party's militant solidarity toward the fraternal parties and countries and toward our close friends throughout the five continents. [prolonged applause]

Our congress sincerely thanks the international delegates for joining us and making their valuable contributions to its success. We sincerely thank fraternal parties and revolutionary organizations in many countries for having sent to the congress messages and letters of greetings filled with the sentiments of proletarian internationalism. [applause]

We heartily praise the compatriots and combatants throughout the country and our overseas compatriots for having looked forward to the congress and scored many achievements in all fields to greet the congress. [applause] We command cadres, workers, state employees, and combatants who have worked devotedly day and night to ensure the congress' fine success. [applause]

Dear comrades, the sixth party congress marks an important change in the process of inheriting and renovating the party's political, ideological, and organizational leadership. The success of the congress provides a new strength and a very important basis for further enhancing solidarity and unity throughout our party and people. Nevertheless, the road lying before us is still fraught with difficulties and trials which can only be surmounted through great effort and very high endeavors by all our party and people.

With the spirit of unity and renovation of the congress, we are resolved to devote all our spirit and energy to successfully realizing the targets set forth by the congress, namely, stabilizing all aspects of the socioeconomic situation and continuing to create the premises for socialist industrialization of the country. [applause]

Looking toward the year 1990 when the 60th founding anniversary of the CPV, the 45th SRV National Day and the 100th birthday of great President Ho Chi Minh will be celebrated, we are determined to successfully carry out respected and beloved Uncle Ho's testament: So long as mountains, rivers and people remain, after defeating the U.S. aggressors, we will build our country 10 times more beautiful. [applause] No obstructive force can check our advance. [applause]

With this strong conviction, I would like to announce the closing of our sixth national congress of delegates. [prolonged applause]

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CSO: 4209/396

**POLITICAL REPORT BY TRUONG CHINH**

**BK160600 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 15-17, 19-20 Dec 86**

**[Political Report of the CPV Central Committee at the Sixth National Party Congress of Delegates -- read by announcer]**

**[1230 GMT 15 Dec 86]**

**[Text] Part I. Situation and Tasks**

Dear comrades, the attitude adopted by our party in assessing the situation is to look straight at the truth, to evaluate the facts correctly and to tell the whole truth. Together with correctly appraising the achievements recorded, at this congress we shall focus on assessing the weaknesses, deeply analyzing the errors and shortcomings, finding out the causes and taking measures to put things right. We will also define the tasks and objectives for the remaining years of the initial stage of the transition period.

Over the past 5 years, our revolution took place against the background of a domestic and international situation which presented many fundamental advantages but was fraught with complexities.

In the cause of building socialism and defending the homeland, our people continued to receive great assistance and multi-faceted cooperation from the great Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries, as well as the encouragement and support of many friendly countries and the freedom-loving people of the world. While the common strategic posture of the revolution in the three Indochinese countries has been improved, the all-round cooperation between Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea has created more favorable factors for building a new life in each country.

However, our country, as well as Laos and Cambodia, has had constantly to cope with acts of aggression, sabotage, and economic blockade by hostile forces. The adverse upheavals in the world market have also added to our difficulties. Starting from a very low economic level, and suffering from the aftermath of long war, our people have had to carry out simultaneously two strategic tasks and both national and international duties, to meet at the same time basic and pressing requirements, namely, ensuring and improving the people's livelihood, accumulating funds for building socialism, and strengthening national defence.



As regards the socioeconomic situation, besides the achievements recorded, the decrease in production in the late 70's and the mistakes made in laying out the economic structure, especially in allocating investment and capital construction in the preceding 5 years, from 1976 to 1980, have left heavy consequences.

In implementing the tasks and objectives defined by the fifth party congress, our people have displayed great courage in their efforts to overcome difficulties and surmount obstacles and have recorded important achievements in socialist construction.

In industrial and agricultural production we managed to curb the decrease of the years 1979 and 1980, and since 1981 have made notable progress.

The average annual increase in agricultural output is 4.9 percent as against 1.9 percent in the 1976-80 period. There has been a major development in the production of food grain.

The average annual output has increased from the 13.4 metric tons average in the 1976-1980 period to 17 million metric tons in the 1981-85 period. The average annual increase in industrial output is 9.5 percent compared to the 0.6 percent increase in the 1976-80 period. The average annual increase in the national income is 6.4 percent compared to 0.4 percent in the previous years.

As regards the building of the material-technical bases, over the 5 years 1981-1985, we completed a few hundred relatively large-size projects and thousands of medium- and small-size projects, including a few major ones relating to electricity, gas and oil, cement, engineering, textiles, sugar, water conservation, communication.... There has been an increase in productive capacity: 456,000 kw of electric power, 2.5 million metric tons of coal, 2.4 million metric tons of cement, 33,000 metric tons of yarn, 58,000 metric tons of paper; 309,000 more hectares have been drained, and 241,000 more hectares have been reclaimed and put to production. Exploitation of oil and gas has been started. The Hoa Binh and Tri An hydropower stations now under construction will be put into operation in the years to come.

There has been a further step forward in socialist transformation. The majority of peasants in Nam Bo have taken the path of collective production while the people of various ethnic minorities in the central highlands have made some progress in building a new life.

Together with scientific-technical achievements, the wide implementation of the system of fixing output quotas for each peasant, though still imperfect and fraught with shortcomings, has played a major role in boosting agricultural production, and has given a correct orientation for consolidating the collective economic relations in the countryside.

Our state and people have endeavored to meet the requirements of national defense and security, and to implement policies regarding the duties of the rear toward the Army.

Caring for the people's livelihood is a constant and most difficult task of our party and state in the context of a weak economy, repeated natural calamities, and rapid population growth. The various sectors of the national economy have taken on another 4 million workers. Developments in the fields of culture, education, public health, physical culture and sports, literature and art have made certain contributions to building a new culture and forming a new man.

Scientific-technical activities have been developed, thus contributing to boosting production, especially agricultural production.

Throughout the country there have emerged many fairly good production and business establishments, excellent combat units, and good districts. Dynamism and creativeness in some localities and branches have helped make encouraging achievements. The lively practice in grass-roots units, localities, and sectors has brought about valuable experience in party and state leadership.

Over the past 5 years, in the fight for national defense and for safeguarding political security and fulfilling their international duty, our people and Armed Forces have scored great victories. We have made a major step in defeating the schemes of the hegemonists against our country and further strengthening our country's defense capabilities.

On the northern border of our country, our Army and people have built an ever stronger defensive position. They have fought with courage and efficiency and managed to hold the enemy's land-grabbing attacks in check.

We have scored another victory in the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, wiped out and routed a major part of the FULRO [United Front for the Struggle of the Oppressed Races] reactionaries in the central highlands, captured many other reactionary groups and many spies and scouts, thus speeding up the mass movement to preserve national security.

In the building of national defense by the whole people we have scored considerable successes in a number of spheres: consolidating the people's war disposition, consolidating political bases in strategically important areas, and building reserves. We have gone a step further in regularizing and modernizing our Army and increasing its fighting strength. Our militia and self-defense forces have been strengthened quantitatively and qualitatively. We have obtained some results in combining the economy and national defense and in mobilizing the Army to take part in economic construction, especially in building industrial and communications projects.

Our Army and people have continued to fulfill their international duty toward Laos and Cambodia, consolidated our strategic alliance with our two fraternal neighbor countries, and joined efforts in strengthening the posture and force of the revolution in the three countries.

The achievements recorded in the implementation of the two strategic tasks, in the strengthening of the solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Cambodia, and the other fraternal countries in the socialist community, and the development of relations of friendship and cooperation with national independence countries, forces for peace and progress, have created new factors for our revolution to march forward.

Those achievements are closely linked to the correct viewpoints of the general line and the economic line defined at the fourth and fifth party congress; they are linked to the home and foreign policies of our party and state.

Those achievements have highlighted the working diligence and fighting bravery of our party and people. In face of the great difficulties encountered in production, fighting, and life, our working class, peasantry, socialist intelligentsia, and Armed Forces have upheld revolutionary heroism, the spirit of collective mastery, and have

turned out an amount of products markedly larger than 5 years before. They have fought staunchly, intelligently, and courageously, and have scored many feats of arms.

Those achievements are not separated from the valuable assistance and support given by the fraternal socialist countries, friendly countries, and international organizations, especially the great assistance of the Soviet Union, the cooperation and militant solidarity with Laos and Cambodia.

While affirming the achievements recorded, we clearly see that our country is facing many socioeconomic difficulties.

Though there has been some growth in production, it is slow in comparison with the capabilities available and labor spent, with the people's demand for a rapid stabilization of their life, and with the need to accumulate funds for industrialization and strengthening our national defense. Failure to fulfill a number of major targets of the last 5-year plan such as production of grain, coal, cement, wood, textiles, and items for export has affected all aspects of economic activity and the working people's life.

Production and investment efficiency has been low. In general, only half of the designed capacity of enterprises has been utilized with reduced labor productivity and low product quality.

Our country's natural resources have not been satisfactorily exploited and have been wasted in their use, especially farmland and forest resources; the ecological environment is being destroyed.

Clogged-up circulation, inappropriate distribution of commodities, and soaring prices are exerting a negative impact on production, the people's life, and society.

Far from being reduced, the great imbalances in the economy between supply and demand in grain, foodstuffs, consumer goods, energy, raw materials, and transportation; between revenue and expenditure; and between export and import have, in some respects, become even more acute.

Socialist production relations have been slowly consolidated. The leading role of the state economic sector is weak. Nonsocialist economic sectors have not been made good use of and transformed.

The life of the people, especially workers and civil servants, is beset with many difficulties. A great number of working people are unemployed or are not fully employed. Many basic legitimate material and cultural necessities of life of the people are not met. There is a shortage of common consumer goods and medicines in the rural areas. Housing, hygienic conditions, and cultural life in some areas are still poor.

Negative phenomena in society have increased. Social justice has been violated. Law and discipline are not strictly observed. Abuse of power and corruption by a number of state cadres and employees and the activities of persons engaged in illegal business have not yet been severely punished in time.

The aforementioned state of affairs has lessened the confidence of the masses in the party leadership and the functioning of state organs. Generally speaking, we have not

yet achieved the objective set by the fifth party congress, namely, stabilizing in the main the socioeconomic situation and the people's life.

What is the cause of this state of affairs?

We do not underestimate the objective difficulties: They are enormous. But it is important to make an incisive analysis of the subjective causes and point out the mistakes and shortcomings in the activities of the party and state.

#### 1. On assessing the situation and defining the targets and steps to be taken:

After the victory of the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation, on the basis of a correct assessment of the fundamental characteristics of the revolutionary situation in our country, our party decided in good time to unify the country and take the entire country to socialism; it set forth the general line and economic line for the whole period of transition. However, there have been many shortcomings in our assessment of the specific socioeconomic situation of the country. For this reason, we have made many errors over the past 10 years in defining the targets and steps taken in building the material and technical bases, in socialist transformation, and in economic management.

Due to the failure to fully realize that the period of transition to socialism is a relatively long historical process which has to go through many stages, and owing to wishful thinking and hastiness, the fourth party congress, in its desire to bypass necessary stages, did not define the targets of the initial stage. As a matter of fact, in the 5 years from 1976 to 1980, we tried to promote industrialization at a time when the necessary premises for it were not available. On the other hand, there were delays in renovating the outdated mechanism of economic management.

The fifth party congress, along with affirming the two strategic tasks, put into more concrete form the economic line in the immediate stage ahead and set forth the general objectives and major socioeconomic policies. But in guiding their implementation, we have not put into effect the aforementioned important conclusions, have not resolutely done away with the tendency for hastiness and conservatism which was reflected mainly in various policies related to the economic structure, socialist transformation, and the mechanism of economic management.

#### 2. On arranging the economic structure:

In arranging the economic structure, in particular the production and investment structure, we often proceeded from our desire to move quickly ahead, without taking into account the real conditions and capabilities, and failing to closely combine from the outset industry and agriculture into a rational structure. Neither did we make effective use of the possibilities of expanding economic relations with foreign countries. In the 5 years between 1976 and 1980 we set targets too high in capital construction and production development. We did not pay due attention to restoring and rearranging the economy, while stressing heavily the building of heavy industry and large-scale projects and failing to concentrate our efforts on basically resolving the grain and foodstuff problem and on developing the production of consumer and export goods. This resulted in very low efficiency despite the considerable investments made.

On the basis of redefining the steps to be taken in industrialization, the fifth party congress decided on the following guidelines for the 5 years between 1981 and 1985: develop while rearranging production and capital construction to raise investment



efficiency in order to stabilize the socioeconomic situation, stabilize the people's life, and create the premises for stepping up industrialization.

However, we have not seriously implemented the resolution of the fifth party congress. Agriculture has not yet been regarded as the foremost front, and conditions necessary for its development have not been ensured, especially with regard to materials, capital, and incentive policies.

Consumer goods industries, including small industry and handicrafts, are still overlooked in terms of organization, investment, and policy. Heavy industry fails to serve agriculture and light industry in a timely manner. A major shortcoming lies in the fact that we have hardly rearranged production establishments so as to do away with overlapping and irrationalities, and have failed to concentrate our limited sources of energy, raw materials, and supplies on key establishments to make the best use of existing productive capacity. On the other hand, in capital construction, although we have suspended or postponed the construction of a number of relatively large projects and have focused more on key projects, we have not, in the main, made a rational adjustment. We have not resolutely suspended or postponed the construction of projects that are not really pressing and those of low efficiency, and were still bent on building many large-scale projects. There is too much unfinished construction work, which clogs up capital. Many localities and sectors have built many more unplanned projects, thus further scattering capital and materials.

3. On socialist transformation, consolidating the new production relations, and the use of various economic components:

In the socialist revolution, along with striving to build new economic bases and forces, great importance must be attached to transforming and making good use of the existing economic bases and forces through appropriate forms and steps. But we have not yet clearly and consistently determined the viewpoints, options, and policies for guiding the socialist transformation process. There have been manifestations of hastiness: We wanted to do away at once with nonsocialist economic components and to rapidly turn the private capitalist economic sector into the state-run sector.

With regard to the small-scale commodity economy, we paid little attention to the characteristics of each branch and trade and therefore, failed to select appropriate forms of organization. There was the tendency to set up at once large-scale cooperatives without taking into account technical equipment and the managerial expertise and capacity of cadres. Regarding the content of transformation, we often laid stress on changing the ownership of the means of production but overlooked the settlement of problems relating to management organization and the system of distribution. We often resorted to campaign-like, coercive measures, running after quantity but neglecting quality and efficiency, and tended to slacken control after a series of hasty actions. Thus, many so-called joint state-private economic establishments, cooperatives, and cooperativized production teams were established only for form's sake and were not really based on the new production relations.

Failure to rearrange the various production sectors and establishments and delays in renovating the mechanism of economic management have led to weakening the leading role of the state-run economy, slowing down the consolidation of the collectivized economy, and limiting the utilization and transformation of other economic components. State-run trade and marketing cooperatives have not been expanded, nor have they made considerable progress in terms of organization and business methods so as to control the market. A number of units are involved in negative activities, stealthily

supplying private traders with goods. Little headway has been made in the transformation of private trade. As for speculators, smugglers, and saboteurs of the market, we have not yet hit them squarely and punished them severely.

In our perception as well as action, we have not really recognized the fact that the multisector economic structure in our country will exist for a relatively long period; nor have we firmly grasped and correctly applied the law of correspondence of production relations to the character and level of development of production forces.

#### 4. On the mechanism of economic management:

Since the sixth plenum of the fourth party Central Committee in 1979, many resolutions of the Central Committee and many decisions of the party and state on renovating the mechanism of economic management have been promulgated, with the resolution of the fifth party Central Committee's eighth plenum and draft Resolution No 306 of the Political Bureau in particular having a far-reaching renovating character. Experimentation and research have been conducted by a number of sectors and many localities and grass-roots units on a new approach to business that will help tap the potentials of the economy with a view to developing production, improving the circulation and distribution of goods, and meeting the demands of the people's life. This is a factor that has directly contributed to our economic achievements in the past 5 years.

However, up to now, the bureaucratic centralized mechanism based on state subsidies has basically not yet been eliminated. A new mechanism has not been established in a concerted way. Many obsolete policies and regulations have not yet been changed, and a number of new management regulations are still patchy, heterogeneous, and even contradictory with one another. There are serious manifestations of bureaucratic centralism while the absence of organization and discipline is rather widespread.

Delays in renovating the management mechanism and machinery and failure to supervise management sharply are major causes leading to disunity in action from top to bottom. A number of persons and establishments have made use of the loopholes in the mechanism of management for personal and departmental gains.

We have only pointed out the main orientation for the new mechanism. As for its content, form, and the specific steps and methods to be adopted, there remain many outstanding problems to which no appropriate solution has been found, neither in theory nor practice.

It is clear that we still lack knowledge and experience in management; and in addition to that, we have not paid attention to summing up experience. At present, we must oppose two tendencies -- on the one hand, conservatism and sluggishness that breed reluctance to renovate; and on the other hand, hastiness and simplism that fuel the desire to settle all problems in a short period of time.

#### On distribution and circulation:

Throughout the past 5 years, there have been constant tensions and troubles in the field of distribution and circulation. The party and state leading organs have spent plenty of time on these problems, but so far the solutions adopted have not been really effective.

This situation was the combined result of many factors which, together, exerted an impact on the economy and people's life.

First of all, there were mistakes in laying out the economic structure and in socialist transformation. They were also the ill effects of the bureaucratic centralized mechanism based on state subsidies which existed for many years in economic management. All this resulted in slow development of production and increasingly sharper contradictions between supply and demand.

Meanwhile, we slackened our vigilance and failed to take effective measures to prevent bad elements and the enemy from taking advantage of our deficiencies to carry out sabotage.

We have failed to adopt a basic financial policy closely linked with correct pricing, monetary, credit, and wage policies. The state has failed to adequately readjust the incomes of private traders, to seize illegally earned incomes, and to satisfactorily protect state property. It has failed to concentrate major sources of income on the budget and to correctly allocate the capital, materials, and goods at its disposal. Budget expenditures bear a state-subsidy character and have for quite a long time exceeded revenues. Utilization of loans and foreign aid has proved ineffective. We have consumed a major part of the capital acquired from foreign countries and of the basic amortization fund. All this has led to a budget deficit -- a direct cause of serious inflation.

We have made mistakes in tackling the pricing, wage, and money problems. We failed to adopt uniform and effective measures to enable the state to control goods and money. The specific solutions to such problems as price fixing and control; wage fixing and control of wage fund; currency change; steps to be taken in readjusting prices, wages, and the amount of money in circulation were carried out without careful preparations and were not consistent with the actual situation.

The errors in the field of distribution and circulation were very serious errors in economic leadership and management in the past 5 years.

#### 6. On realizing proletarian dictatorship:

The state of slackened proletarian dictatorship is reflected in the many shortcomings we have in socialist transformation, in socioeconomic management, in the ideological and cultural struggle, and in opposing the enemy's schemes and maneuvers of sabotage. We have failed to make full use of the aggregate strength of proletarian dictatorship in order to establish and firmly maintain socialist order in all spheres of economic and social life. We have allowed violations of state law and regulations to become increasingly widespread.

Dear comrades, the above-mentioned errors were serious and protracted ones concerning major positions and policies, concerning strategic guidance and organization of implementation of tasks. The main ideological features of these errors, especially those committed in economic policies, was subjectivism, voluntarism, a simplistic way of thinking and acting, and impatiently seeking to realize one's subjective wishes. It was the tendency toward laissez-faire, slackening of discipline, and failure to seriously implement the party lines and principles. This was petty bourgeois ideology, a manifestation of both left and right deviations.



Exactly as the fifth party congress noted, we were both subjective and hasty on the one hand, and conservative and sluggish on the other. In reality, these two aspects coexisted and hindered the advance of the revolution. The errors and shortcomings in socioeconomic leadership originated from shortcomings in the party's ideological and organizational activity and its cadre work. This lies at the root of all other causes.

In the field of ideology and organization, our party did achieve some good results. Our party organization and our contingent of cadres have further matured, and we have learned many new lessons of experience in building the party when it is in power. We must, however, frankly admit that, faced with new developments and trials in the building of socialism, our party's ideological and organizational activity was unable to keep pace with the revolution's requirements.

In the ideological field, there was a lag in our theoretical appreciation and practical application of the laws prevailing in the period of transition. We were voluntaristic and simplistic in our desire to quickly achieve many objectives of socialism when our country was just at its initial stage. We held unfair prejudices and in fact did not really recognize the existing objective laws of commodity production. Therefore, we did not care to apply them in the determination of our economic positions and policies. We did not pay adequate attention to summing up our practical experience and learning from the experience of fraternal countries.

In organizational work, the biggest shortcoming was the sluggishness and slowness in renovating cadre work. The selection and placing of cadres in various leading and managerial organs at various levels still followed old-fashioned conceptions and incorrect criteria, of a largely formalistic character, without proceeding from the requirements of the political tasks and professional qualifications. It was also done without adequate programming, with little attention paid to the opinion of the masses. The work of educating and managing cadres and party members lacked strictness.

The leadership and work style were heavily characterized by bureaucratism; deeds did not match words; and working and decision-making procedures were not observed. Guidance and supervision were usually lacking in concentration, resoluteness, and consistency. Violations of Leninist principles in party life occurred in various party organizations and party committees, first of all the principles of democratic centralism, collective leadership, individual responsibility, and submission by the minority to the majority, by the lower to the higher echelons, and by the whole party to the Central Committee.

Organizationally speaking, the state apparatus and those of the party and mass organizations were left to grow too big, overlapping, and dispersed. Responsibility for mistakes and shortcomings in party leadership rests first of all with the party Central Committee, the Political Bureau, the Secretariat, and the Council of Ministers. It should be emphasized that the delay in correctly effecting a transition in the nucleus of leadership was a direct cause for the inadequacy of party leadership in recent years in meeting the requirements of the new situation. The party Central Committee wishes to seriously criticize itself for its shortcomings before the congress.

Proceeding from realities of the revolution in past years, we may draw the following lessons of experience:

First, in all its activities, the party must thoroughly observe the idea to rely on the people as roots and establish and develop the laboring people's right to mastery. Our party has no other aim than to struggle for the people's happiness. The masses are makers of history. Our people are highly revolutionary and endowed with valuable qualities.



Having gone through over a half a century of continuous fighting and endured untold sacrifices and hardship, they have always upheld revolutionary heroism, working diligently and fighting valiantly for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for socialism. When the party commits mistakes and shortcomings, the people still eagerly hope that the party will rectify its mistakes and take the country forward. Our part cannot fail that expectation of the people.

The great lesson we can draw from past years is that when a party is in power, special care must be taken to consolidate the relationship between the party and the people and to conduct a constant struggle to prevent and overcome bureaucratism. Each Communist Party member must really be both a leader and a very loyal servant of the people. All viewpoints and policies of the party must proceed from the interests, aspirations, and capabilities of the laboring people, and must arouse sympathy and support from the masses. Bureaucratism, commandism, alienation from the masses, and infringements on the people's interests will weaken the strength of the party.

Second, the party must always proceed from reality and observe and act upon objective laws. The ability to realize and act upon objective laws is a guarantee for correct leadership by the party. In order to overcome shortcomings and improve the situation, our party must, first of all, effect a change in concepts and renovation in thinking. We must correctly realize and act in conformity with the system of objective laws, of which the specific laws of socialism will exert an ever stronger influence on the general development of society.

The criteria for assessing the correct application of these laws in the party and state's viewpoints and policies are the development of production, the smooth circulation of goods, the gradual stabilization and betterment of the people's material and cultural life, the emergence of the new socialist man with ever more clearly defined features, an ever more wholesome society, and the consolidation of the socialist system. All viewpoints and policies that produce adverse effects bear evidence of the incorrect application of objective laws and must be either amended or rescinded.

Third, we must know how to combine the forces of the nation with those of our times in the new conditions. Our country can advance directly toward socialism from a small-scale production system, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, because the revolution in our country is taking place in an era of transition to socialism on a global scale. Our people enjoy great assistance and all-round cooperation from the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries and have the alliance and all-round cooperation of the two fraternal neighboring countries of Laos and Cambodia. Such assistance and cooperation constitutes an important condition for our people to build socialism successfully and defend the socialist fatherland firmly. Our people also enjoy support and assistance from many other friendly countries and from revolutionary and progressive forces the world over.

The development of the present scientific and technological revolution and the tendency for widening international division of labor and cooperation, even between countries with different socioeconomic systems, are also very important conditions for the cause of socialist construction in our country.

In all aspects of our revolutionary undertaking, we must take special care to combine national with international factors and traditional with modern factors and satisfactorily exploit all possibilities for expanding trade relations and economic, scientific, and technological cooperation with foreign countries in order to serve the cause of socialist construction and always fulfill our internationalist duty toward fraternal and friendly countries.

Fourth, we must build the party up to the political tasks of a party in power which leads the people in the socialist revolution. To ensure that our party will fulfill this glorious historic mission it is urgent that we increase the militant strength and enhance the capability for leadership and practical organization of the party. The principle of democratic centralism must be firmly upheld in party life as well as in socioeconomic leadership. Party members must unceasingly foster and enhance their revolutionary qualities and ethics and practice regular self-criticism and criticism within the party and in public. They must strengthen unity and singlemindedness in the party, both in spirit and in action, while heightening their sense of organization and discipline and matching their words with their deeds.

The sixth congress should mark a turning point of decisive significance in raising the party's strength, enhancing its prestige among the masses, and ensuring that it will bring itself up to the new tasks. Our party must become a firm and strong leading party in the socialist revolution.

Dear comrades, we are now faced with the new great and heavy tasks. After more than 10 years of leading our country into the initial stage of the transition period, our party has now been able to realize more profoundly the characteristics of this stage. Small-scale production with its inherent weaknesses, the aftermath of the previous long wars and even of the recent ones, and the vestiges of the old regime are obstacles on the path of development in our country. With the achievements already recorded in socialist construction, we have overcome by a step economic dispersion and backwardness, partly transformed the socioeconomic structure, and laid the initial bases for further development. However, we have not gone far enough from the all too low starting point. Our mistakes and shortcomings have made the situation even more difficult.

The complex socioeconomic reality requires that our party makes policy decisions aimed at changing the situation and bringing about a turning point in development.

In the coming years, the revolution in our country will continue to develop against a greatly changing international background. The revolutionary forces of our times are growing ever stronger and are obviously in an active and offensive position. The forces of the socialist system, with the Soviet Union as its pillar, are being strengthened in every field. The 27th CPSU Congress ushered in a new stage of a turning-point character -- a stage of dynamic development in all areas of social life on the land of the Soviets. With a strategy for accelerating socioeconomic development, the Soviet economy is energetically shifting toward intensive development aimed at realizing the great targets of the remaining years of the 20th century.

The socialist system has entered a new stage of development with a new quality. The all-round achievements of the socialist community and its combined strength in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural, and national defense fields constitute a decisive factor for the victory of socialism in the struggle between the two opposing sociopolitical systems in the world.

This is also a guarantee of prime importance for all of mankind in the common struggle to safeguard peace and stave off and repel the danger of a nuclear holocaust.

The national independence movement is developing with new characteristics and the trend for linking national independence with socialism to oppose imperialism is growing ever stronger. The imperialists, in collusion with other international reactionary forces, are, on the one hand, combining military threats from the outside with economic and political encirclement and sabotage aimed at achieving peaceful change and subversion from within; and, on the other hand, waging direct or proxy wars against revolutionary and progressive states.

With the emergence of a series of countries that have just gained national independence, the Nonaligned Movement which includes more than 100 member countries has become a large political force playing an increasingly important role in the struggle against imperialism and colonialism for the defense of independence and peace.

The gap between the developed capitalist countries and the developing countries is widening. The increasingly heavier exploitation by the imperialist countries has driven many Asian, African, and Latin American countries into ever more abject poverty and indebtedness. The struggle to do away with the old world economic order and establish a new, equitable world economic order is becoming increasingly attractive.

In the capitalist countries, the struggle movement of the working class has seen a new step of development linked to the ever-aggravating crisis of imperialism and to the democratic and peace movement against imperialism and the danger of nuclear war.

A salient feature of our times is the scientific and technological revolution which is taking place vigorously, creating a leap forward in the development of production forces and an acceleration of the process of internationalization of production forces. This revolution has rendered more acute the contradictions of our times. A single world market is taking shape in which the two opposing economic systems are engaged in a fierce struggle against each other. On the other hand, economic cooperation is the necessary requirement for the development of both systems.

The struggle in the economic field is of ever great political significance to the outcome of the struggle between the two systems. The socialist countries, bringing into play the superiority of the new system with an increasingly effective use of the achievements of the scientific and technological revolution, are changing their production structures and management mechanism by effecting a broad reform of profound revolutionary significance, and will surely bring about great changes in a not too distant future.

The capitalist economy has not exhausted its capacity for development; but as the scientific and technological revolution and the production forces continue to develop, they will make more acute the basic contradictions inherent in the capitalist system, first of all, those between labor and capital. The development of the production forces also leads to great upheavals in the economic relations between capitalist countries, especially among the three centers -- the United States, Western Europe, and

Torn by contradictions and rivalries among themselves, the capitalist countries are asking every method and means, even the exploitation of the scientific and technological revolution, to achieve development, reconcile their inner contradictions and ally with one another against the revolutionary forces.



Controlling huge economic and military forces, imperialism -- U.S. imperialism first of all -- and other international reactionary forces are stubbornly holding on to their objectives. They refuse to renounce their policy of pursuing the arms race, particularly nuclear armament, and causing local conflicts to counterattack revolutionary and peace forces. Never before has the danger of a nuclear war begun by imperialism been so great as it is now. The U.S. monopolistic capitalist groups, whose main forces are the military-industrial complexes, reap huge profits by creating tension in the international situation; and they use this as justification for their colossal military expenditures, their global ambitions, their intervention in other nations' internal affairs, and their attacks on the very rights of the American laboring people.

Although the fierce counterattacks by imperialism and international reactionary forces have caused losses and obstacles to peace and revolution, the energetic struggle of the revolutionary and peace forces with the Soviet Union as the pillar has thwarted part of their schemes. With the summit talks between the Soviet Union and the United States, the configuration of struggle in conditions of peaceful coexistence between the two opposing social systems is being strengthened and developed. The struggle for the defense of world peace is attracting broad forces from all countries. The struggle for peace and the revolutionary struggle are two attacking prongs that are hitting hard at the same time at imperialism and weakening it.

Mankind is now at a crossroads, faced with a choice concerning new, global problems. A nuclear war will only bring destruction to all the warring parties and to life on earth. Between countries with different social systems, the only correct choice is competition in the economic field and the way of life. All sides should coordinate with one another in solving global problems confronting all nations and the human community as a whole, such as the population explosion, the food program, the use of natural resources, and protection of the environment.

The socialist countries has definitely affirmed their choice for the path of competition in the economic field and in their way of life; and this competition can only take place in conditions of firmly guaranteed peace.

In the Asia-Pacific region, important changes are also taking place. The revolutionary and peace forces continue to grow bigger and stronger. The economy of the region continues to develop at a quick rate. Asia-Pacific is a center of fierce struggle between revolution and counterrevolution. At the same time, the relations between countries with different political systems in this region also join the common trend of struggle within the configuration of peaceful coexistence. The Asia-Pacific strategy being intensively deployed by the warlike U.S. forces is in reality a strategy for rallying new forces with the aim of furthering their imperialist interests and directing the spearhead at the Soviet Union, other socialist countries, and the peace, national independence, and democracy-loving forces in the region.

With regard to Indochina, the hegemonist power and imperialism have not given up their long-term scheme to weaken and subjugate the three peoples. They may continue their present policy of confrontation, using military threats and encircling and isolating us to bleed us white and make it impossible for us to concentrate on economic construction and on improving the people's living conditions. Obviously they have failed, however, and will fail completely. Our people have new capabilities to consolidate and preserve peace, and take advantage of favorable international conditions for developing the economy, building socialism, and defending our homeland.

We reaffirm at this congress that our whole party, people and Armed Forces -- single-mindedly united -- will devote all their spiritual and material forces to the continued performance of the two strategic tasks of successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist fatherland while making positive contributions to the common struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

Our people will continue to do their utmost to strengthen militant solidarity, heighten the quality and effectiveness of all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, and consolidate and develop the special alliance with Laos and Cambodia -- regarding it as a sacred international duty and a task of strategic importance to the vital interests of independence, freedom, and socialism in our country and on the Indochinese peninsula as a whole.

For the sake of defending our fatherland, our whole party, people, and Armed Forces, bringing into full play the aggregate strength of our country and society, will resolutely defeat the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage while standing ready and planning to cope successfully with all eventualities he creates.

We should hold firm to and put into practice the view that the whole people build the country and defend the fatherland and the whole Armed Forces defend the fatherland and build the country, and persevere in carrying out and making concrete the party's military line in the period of building and defending the fatherland.

We must bring into full play the strength of the whole system of the dictatorship of the proletariat, and of the whole party, people and Armed Forces; closely combine economic, defense and security tasks; and step up the building of the all-people national defense and security and of a secure rear in all respects.

Efforts must be concentrated on building the regular People's Army, making it ever more modern with ever higher aggregate quality: a rational, balanced, compact, and strong organization with strict discipline, high combat readiness, and fighting capacity. We must organize well the safeguarding of our sovereignty and security on the border and in our airspace, territorial waters, and islands and build and strengthen a solid force of border guards. The militia and self-defense forces must be constantly developed with adequate strength and quality to meet the requirements of the tasks. Building reserve forces is to be strengthened. Research should be accelerated for the development of Vietnamese military science and arts.

Efforts of the state, people, and Armed Forces should be pooled to meet the requirements of the fighting tasks and combat readiness and the necessities of the material and cultural life of the Armed forces. The policies on the duties of the rear toward the Army should be fully implemented. The defense industry should be developed step by step along with the strengthening the country's economic potentials. On the basis of ensuring the fighting tasks, combat readiness and defense oriented production work, we shall mobilize part of the military forces and employ part of the defense industrial capacity for economic construction.

The mechanism of party leadership over the Army and national defense should be correctly implemented.

The safeguarding of political security and the maintenance of public order and social safety should be carried out with the strength of all forces, armed and unarmed, and with every necessary means. This struggle must be closely and constantly organized in each region and in all units throughout the country under the centralized and unified leadership of the party committees at all levels.



Residence registration work should be done in a regular way. Enterprises, offices, schools, hospitals, city wards, villages, and urban and rural districts must be made safe in terms of security and order. Safe areas and lines in the localities must be formed. Our ranks must be made pure and strong. The enemy's acts of economic, political, and ideological sabotage and their intelligence and espionage activities must be forestalled and punished.

As a core of the revolutionary Armed Forces of this important struggle, the people's security force must be built into a truly pure, powerful, regular, and eventually modernized force absolutely loyal to the fatherland and people, possessing a firm base among the masses and an ever higher professional level, and truly constituting a sharp, reliable, instrument of the party and the socialist state.

The victory of the cause of defending the fatherland must be guaranteed by the aggregate strength of the new system. While giving constant care to the task of national defense, our party and people continue to attach prime importance to the task of building socialism, collective mastery, a new economy, a new culture, and the new socialist man.

The party's sixth congress affirms the continuation of the general line of the socialist revolution and the line for building the socialist economy determined by the party's fourth and fifth congresses. This congress, by concentrating the wisdom of the whole party and people, is to sum up the creative and abundant experience of all sectors, levels, and grass-roots units, solve a number of important theoretical and practical problems, and develop the party's line and raise the party's capacity in guiding its implementation.

Today we have the conditions to acquire a better knowledge of the path to socialism in our country.

Advancing from capitalism to socialism through the transition period is an objective necessity, and the length of this period is dependent on the economic, political, and social conditions of each country. The transition period in our country, which is advancing straight towards socialism from small-scale production, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, must naturally be long and very difficult. This is a period of profound, all-round, and thorough revolutionary transformation aimed at building from the beginning a new society in terms of productive forces, and in the relations of production as well as in superstructure. This is a period of complicated class struggle, the struggle between the two roads -- socialist and capitalist -- in all spheres of social life to solve the who-will-win problem. Holding firm to the dictatorship of the proletariat, promoting the right to collective mastery of the working people, and simultaneously undertaking the three revolutions and carrying out socialist industrialization are the main contents of the party's revolutionary line.

After this congress, with a revolutionary and scientific spirit, and by continuing the development of the determined line, our party should expedite the building of a complete program for the whole socialist revolution in the transition period. On the basis of that program, we shall build a strategy for economic and social development, a strategy for scientific and technological development, and so forth.

Drafting a complete revolutionary program and a strategy for economic and social development is a political event of the utmost importance for the revolutionary guidance in a relatively long period, laying the ideological and political foundation for all activities of the party, the state, and society.

The initial stage is a small transitional step within the great transitional step. As Lenin put it: "This period, the transition period, in our policy is again divided into many smaller transitional steps. All the difficulties of our task and of the policy and all the skill in the policy lie in knowing how to deal with the specific task of each of these transitional steps."

[1230 GMT 16 Dec 86]

[Text] Our party has repeatedly pointed out that the main task of the initial stage is to build the political, economic, and social premises necessary for the development of large-scale socialist industrialization. We have recorded a number of considerable achievements in building these premises. But, regrettably, what has been done has not been well-coordinated, resulting in many shortcomings and causing disturbances.

Therefore, in the remaining years of the initial stage, effective measures must be taken to quickly stabilize the socioeconomic situation, bring all activities into the orbit of normal development, carry out managerial and organizational reforms, and establish production structures and a new mechanism of socioeconomic management.

The sixth congress determines that the overriding tasks and the general objectives of the remaining years of the initial stage are to stabilize all aspects of the socioeconomic situation and continue to build the premises necessary to accelerate the process of socialist industrialization in the following stage. Stabilization of the socioeconomic situation includes stabilization of production, distribution and circulation, as well as the material and cultural life; enhancement of the efficiency of managerial organizations; restoration of order and discipline; and realization of social equity. Stabilization and development are closely linked in the process of advancement. Stabilization is aimed at development; there is stabilization only when there is development.

Proceeding from the above-said overriding tasks and general objectives, the congress is to determine the following concrete objectives for economic and social development for the remaining years of the initial stage:

1. In order to produce enough for consumption and accumulation, we must direct all efforts at meeting the urgent and essential requirements of society, gradually stabilize and improve one step further the people's material and cultural life. In concrete terms, we must ensure that the people have adequate food at a higher nutritional level than at present, and adequate clothing. We must better satisfy their needs for health protection and treatment of diseases, traveling, education, and cultural enjoyment, increase essential household necessities, and overcome, one step more, the difficulties in housing, especially in urban and highly concentrated industrial areas. These are the requirements of the fundamental economic law of socialism in the present conditions.

Stabilizing the people's daily life must be in line with the requirement for accumulation from inside the national economy to make it strong enough to absorb foreign loans and aid and use these for extended reproduction.

2. In initially creating a rational economic structure for the development of production, and in order to have adequate livelihood and accumulation, it is necessary to develop production and reduce the birth rate. To develop production, it is necessary to build a rational economic structure, first of all, the structure of all economic branches in conformity with the law of development of the material production branches and with the country's capabilities, the division of labor, and international cooperation. This economic structure guarantees a well-balanced economic development with a stable growth rate. Through the rearrangement of production and together with further construction of a number of essential material and technical bases, we must create by all means a rational economic structure, gear up the acceleration of agricultural production -- especially the production of grain and foodstuffs -- and promote the production of consumer and export goods.

3. In building and perfecting one step further the new relations of production in conformity with the character and level of development of the production forces, we must consolidate the socialist economic sectors, including the state-run and collective sectors in a comprehensive manner, including the systems of ownership, management, and distribution, thereby helping these economic sectors play a dominant role in the national economy and showing their superiority in labor productivity, product quality, workers' incomes, and accumulation for industrialization. With the appropriate measures, we shall make use of all the capacities of the other economic sectors in close association with and under the guidance of the socialist economic sectors.

We shall continue to carry out socialist transformation on the principle of ensuring production development, raising economic efficiency, and increasing the working people's incomes. We must establish a new system of economic management in a uniform and integrated way, with planning as the central link, while practicing socialist accounting and business systems management in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. We must bring into full play the effectiveness of the new economic management mechanism so as to satisfactorily exploit the capacity of the production establishments, and consolidate order and discipline in economic management.

4. In creating good changes in society, we must substantially solve the unemployment problem of the working people and ensure the basic principle of distribution according to labor. Social equity should be realized in conformity with the concrete conditions of our country. All sources of illegal income must be eliminated. In the building of a new culture, we must pay special attention to building sound social relations and a healthy life, overcoming negative phenomena, and preserving and promoting the spirit of democracy, humanity, heroism, and other cultural values of the national and revolutionary traditions. We must expand socialist democracy, raise the people's sense of respecting the law, consolidate social discipline, ensure security and public order, and observe the principle: "Let everyone live and work in accordance with the law."

5. Ensuring the requirements for the strengthening of national defense and security: An ever more stable and strengthened national defense and security will ensure favorable conditions for the cause of economic building. On the basis of economic development, we must meet, in an ever more adequate and stable manner, the following requirements: the material and cultural needs of the Armed Forces, strengthening the disposition for defending the fatherland both in national defense and security, strengthening the material and technical bases, gradually arming all the Armed Forces, and supplying sufficient materials and finances for defense-oriented production.

These objectives will be concretized and quantified into specific targets of the economic and social plans. The milestone marking the end of the initial stage is the

achievement of these five main objectives. The length of the initial stage chiefly depends significantly on how we shall apply the lessons drawn from the practice during the past decade in order to accelerate the tempo of economic and social development in the years ahead.

[1230 GMT 16, 17, 19 Dec 86]

[Text] Part II. Basic Orientations of Socioeconomic Policies

Dear comrades:

We have the potential at hand to achieve the tasks and objectives defined for the initial stage of the transition period. In order to translate those potentials into reality, it is of prime importance to renovate the economic and social policies with the view to bringing into full play the role as masters and the zeal of the laboring people, creating a seething mass movement in carrying out simultaneously the revolution in relations of production, the scientific and technological revolution, and the ideological and cultural revolution.

Economic policies must be aimed at exploiting rapidly and effectively existing capabilities and potentials of the economy. These include about half of the equipment capacity which has not been utilized, the land with great possibility of intensive cultivation, the forests, the seas and other natural resources which have not been properly exploited, the abundant labor force, the under-utilized contingent of scientific and technical cadres, the possibility of saving energy and materials and of tapping all the capital resources for developing production. These productive forces have been handicapped by our errors and shortcomings in arranging the economic structure, in the socialist transformation, and in the management mechanism. Economic plans and policies must be governed by the following guiding principle: All existing productive capabilities must be liberated, all potentials of the country exploited, international assistance put to effective use with a view to developing vigorously the productive forces along with building and strengthening the socialist relations of production. This guiding principle is manifested in the following major policies and measures:

1. To rearrange the structure of production, to make major readjustments in the investment structure:

In order to bring the economy out of the state of disorder and imbalance, it is imperative to resolutely and decidedly rearrange the national economy in a rational structure in which various sectors, localities, economic components, productive forms of different dimensions and technical levels are to be arranged in a balanced and integrated manner suitable to the actual conditions, thus assuring stable developing of the economy. To that end, we must, first and foremost, rearrange the production structure and make major readjustments in the investment structure. In the remaining years of the initial stage, with the 1986-90 5-Year Plan in the immediate future, we must really concentrate to a high degree the country's human energy and material wealth on successfully implementing the three major comprehensive programs on grain and



foodstuffs, consumer goods, and export goods, in order to reach, by the end of the initial stage, the following targets:

-- With regard to grain and foodstuffs: To produce sufficient grain for the whole population and for reserves, and to meet in a stable manner the essential needs in foodstuffs. We must see to it that the consumption of grain and foodstuffs reaches a level which can assure reproduction of labor power.

-- In regard to consumer goods: To produce enough to meet the normal requirements for essential industrial products of the people both in urban and rural areas.

-- Regarding export goods: To turn out a number of main export items to reach a level of export revenues that can cover an important part of requirements for the import of materials, machinery, spare parts and necessities of life.

Those target programs have concretized the main content of the socialist industrialization of the initial stage which were defined at the party's fifth national congress.

The position of prime importance of agriculture is determined by the urgent requirements for grain, foodstuffs, production materials, for consumer goods, and export goods. We must take agriculture one step forward along the path of large-scale production, aiming primarily at augmenting the volume and percentage of agricultural commodities. Agriculture must get priority in acquiring investment for the building of its material and technical base, in supplies of materials, and in skilled labor. These investment resources must be put to effective use. Investment in agriculture must be undertaken in a uniform manner from production to processing, transportation, and storing so that more finished products will be turned out. We are to expand and complete the irrigation networks, and widely apply scientific achievements and technological advances, particularly in biotechnology; put new strains and breeds to widespread and stable use; meet fully and in time the requirements for fertilizers, pesticides, and veterinary medicines; increase draught power; provide sufficient ordinary and improved tools; effect the mechanization gradually and in selected areas; reduce the loss of agricultural products in harvesting, storing, transporting, and processing; and always stand on the alert against floods and storms.

The guideline for agricultural development is to combine specialization with overall development to achieve balance between cultivation and animal husbandry, rice and subsidiary crops, food crops and industrial crops. We should vigorously develop short-growth industrial crops. While increasing the acreage of perennial crops, we must attach importance to their quality and practice intensive cultivation right at the start. Intensive cultivation and crop multiplication are the main measures to be taken along with increasing the acreage under cultivation steadily and effectively. Policies on cultivated fields and other lands are to be revised and amended in order to manage and utilize the land resources effectively and in the most economical manner.

The development of forestry should be geared to the following guiding principles: to preserve and make effective use of forest resources, increase forest acreage, develop the afforestation of single-type woods in selected areas, speed up the tempo of greening of bare and denuded hills in the agriculture-combined-with-forestry formula, prevent the destruction of forests and damage caused by forest fires, and widely spread the tree-planting campaigns with an eye to all varieties for timber, for new materials,

and for firewood. We must take active steps in resettling nomadic people and allotting the lands and forests to collective units or to the people for long-term utilization so that they can be masters of the forests as they are of the cultivated fields. We must build forest-agricultural-industrial integrated economic zones, and exploit, preserve, process, and use timber and other forest products with ever higher economic efficiency.

Marine products and fresh-water and brackish-water aquatic products constitute an enormous economic resource. We should pay attention to both the catching and rearing of aquatic products while properly solving the problems of processing and transporting those products in order to meet the requirements of home consumption and increase rapidly the volume of exports. We must invest more and amend the related policies with a view to making the most of water surfaces suitable to aquatic product rearing. The water surfaces which are now under the control of state-run or collective enterprises and have not been fully utilized are to be lent out or allotted to the people on a contract basis for developing production.

Light industry, small industry, and handicrafts will by all means meet the people's requirements for ordinary commodities, satisfy the demand in processing agricultural, forest, and aquatic products, rapidly increase the volume of subcontracted products for export and other export goods, while widening the variety of products in order to meet the diversified demands of the consumers. We must fully exploit all sources of raw materials, make the best use of waste materials, and take advantage of material resources from abroad through subcontracts.

The development of light industry will be, first of all, based on the rearrangement of production and on in-depth and uniform investment so as to fully utilize the capacity of the equipment available at the existing installations with attention given to those installations having high capacity and high processing efficiency. It is necessary to utilize rationally the capacity of heavy industry and defense-oriented enterprises for production of consumer goods. Correct policies are needed for mobilizing the capital and technical resources of the people, as much as possible, including overseas Vietnamese, in order to develop material-producing enterprises as well as processing enterprises of various forms.

State-run economic enterprises are to be developed and consolidated in the areas that control production and circulation. Consumer goods production units must be closely linked to the market and fully in touch with the demand and taste of the consumers. Socialist trade organs must strive to play their role as the representatives of the consumers in placing orders and signing contracts with production units. It is advisable to invite tenders with a view to placing orders and supplying materials to production units capable of turning out products of high quality and at low costs, no matter whether they are state-owned or collective production units. Those production units doing bad business and failing to thrive must either change their production lines, reduce operation, or be closed down.

The development of heavy industry and the building of the infrastructure must be aimed at furthering the economic national defense objectives in the initial stage, and as practical conditions permit, prepare premises for economic development in the subsequent stage. Priority is to be given to developing energy industries such as electricity, coal, oil, and gas. The engineering industry of all ministries and localities must be rearranged and built into an integrated branch with specialization of production and gradual renewal of existing equipment. In the industries, producing materials and raw materials, attention should be given first of all to minerals and other types of raw materials for producing fertilizer, pesticide, and veterinary

medicines. It is necessary to make full use of the existing capacity and build more small-sized installations for producing building materials, chemicals and metals.

With regard to heavy industrial products that must be turned out at home for developing agriculture and light industry, we must strive to organize the production on an appropriate scale and with feasible technology. As for those products which cannot be made or have not been produced sufficiently at home, we must import them through the use of revenues from exports. Agriculture and light industry must turn out products for export in order to meet their own requirements for imports and procure foreign currency for the state. The building of heavy industry establishments which exceed our practical conditions and capacities must be avoided, including those catering for agriculture and light industry.

With regard to the infrastructure, importance is to be attached to developing communications and transport. We must maintain, upgrade, homogenize, and improve the management of the existing facilities and put them to effective utilization.

Additional needed establishments should be built in a selective manner to ensure production and the circulation of goods, to serve the people's livelihood, and to prepare for the acceleration of industrialization. Priority must be given to developing water transport and communication, increasing the volume of railway transport, rearranging in a rational manner land transport, and developing air transport. Collective economic units and the people are encouraged to contribute their energy and capital to expanding the network of communication lines in rural and mountain areas and developing means of transport, particularly rudimentary and semi-mechanized means of transport. We are to overcome the bottlenecks in the transportation of goods and take one step forward in improving people's travel conditions. It is necessary to raise the capacity, improve the quality of service, overcome the backwardness in communication and liaison, and modernize the equipment in areas where conditions permit.

Along with increasing power supply, a balanced national power grid is to be established. It is necessary to build and improve the network of water-supply and drainage and the sewerage system in cities and provincial towns.

Service industries should be developed. They include technical services and other activities in the service of production and the people's life.

Along the guidelines mentioned above, the three major target programs for the production of grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods, and export goods must be worked out promptly and put into effect in the 1986-90 plan as the central socioeconomic task of all sectors and of all levels.

These programs must be realistic and ensure a balance among the objectives, facilities, measures, and policies. With respect to each type of product, we must take into consideration all the factors of the program for recycling production ranging from production conditions to processing, preservation, shipment, and consumption. We must uniformly deal with the technical problems, the organization of production, and the economic policies. In all the three programs, we must combine the economy with national defense, emphasize the distribution of production forces to various territorial divisions in order to develop the strengths of all regions in their relations of alliance and mutual support in accordance with the viewpoint of developing the economy of goods, expand trade in the country and with foreign countries, and overcome the tendency of self-production and self-sufficiency.



We must maintain a close combination among agriculture, forestry, fishery, industry, and handicrafts and artisan industry, and between production and circulation and service in each district, each province, and each economic zone. The economy in districts occupies the important position in the formulation and implementation of the three target programs. The guideline for building districts is not to create a heavy machinery of administrative and economic management but is to develop, consolidate, arrange, and integrate the various units of production and business pertaining to different economic elements in order to best exploit labor, land, forests, seas, trades and jobs in districts.

Following the guideline of reorganizing the economic structure, we must make major adjustments in the structure of state investment in capital construction in order to concentrate on the implementation of the above-mentioned target programs and ensure results. In determining the results of investment, attention must be paid to the requirements of spending less capital, creating many jobs, and putting the projects quickly into use. We must thoroughly examine all unfinished projects, including above-norm and below-norm ones, be they undertaken by the central government or local governments or by any branch, as well as those which have not yet been started, but for which agreements on the import of complete equipment from abroad have been signed.

We must resolutely slow down or halt the construction of projects which are not really urgently needed or those which cannot be put to effective use when completed, or considering the need for a general balance, priority must be given to other projects. It is imperative to concentrate on quickly and uniformly completing some of the targeted projects. Along with carefully selecting new projects for construction, we should give priority to comprehensive and in-depth investment in the existing installations. Only when the existing facilities, even though enlarged, cannot meet the requirements, do we consider the construction of new projects. Even so, this must always be kept in line with and aimed at the defined orientation and targets, with mainly small-sized and medium-sized projects, making the best use of advanced techniques, ensuring fast construction and putting to use parts of the projects as soon as they are completed. This guiding principle should also govern the construction of scientific, technical, educational, health care and cultural establishments. Investment is to be allocated selectively so as to solve the housing problems for workers and state employees, providing for the reconditioning of existing residences while creating conditions for the people to build more residences both in the cities and in the countryside. Thorough preparations should be made for investment in economic development in the ensuring stage, particularly in projects that will overlap the stages.

Along with adjusting investment orientation and outlay, it is imperative to amend investment regulations and rules in order to heighten the responsibility in working out options and making decisions on investment plans, particularly with regard to major projects decided upon by the central government. We should avoid ratifying projects one by one, separating them from the common context. The investors' responsibility and material interests must be linked with the efficiency of the investment. We must strictly control all the state-owned capital construction projects, regardless of the sources of capital supply. The system of tenders for construction contracts is to be applied in accordance with the criteria for ensuring completion deadline and project quality, and lowering construction and assembly costs. In order to effect a definite turning point in arranging the production structure and investment portfolio we must renovate our ways of thinking and working and have the courage to admit erroneous decisions and change them, and to handle complicated cases with determination. All sectors, localities, and grass-roots units must be active and resolved to rearrange



production and construction within their authority, together with the central level make a big readjustment in the production structure and investment portfolio on a nationwide scale, and resolutely wrest back the initiative in order to stabilize the socioeconomic situation.

2. To build and consolidate socialist production relations and utilize and transform the various economic components in a correct manner:

In order to develop production forces vigorously along with rearranging the production structure and investment portfolio in accordance with sectoral and territorial divisions we must correctly determine the structural composition of the economy. In our society, many able-bodied people are still unemployed or underemployed. The state sector's ability to absorb the labor force will still be limited in the coming years; nor is it possible to bring all those who engage in individual business into collectivized economic organizations within a short period of time. There are branches and trades which, if collectivized, are not likely to yield good results. While the financial resources of the state and collectivized enterprises are still limited, the idle capital at the disposal of the people is used mainly for consumption purposes or kept in reserve and spent on buying goods for hoarding purposes. Policies are needed to pave the way for the laboring people to create jobs by themselves, to stimulate everyone to invest their money in production and business, to practice thrift in consumption for the purpose of accumulation, and to expand reproduction on a nationwide scale.

Based on the assessment of the potentials, scattered yet very important, at the disposal of the people such as labor force, technology, capital, and the ability to create jobs, we advocate that together with developing the state-run and collectivized economies, increasing the state's centralized source of accumulation, and drawing capital from abroad, there should be policies for utilizing and transforming other economic components in a correct way. These policies would permit the use of various economic forms on the appropriate scales and technical levels in each link of the production process and circulation in order to fully exploit all capabilities of the various interconnected economic components, of which the state-run economy plays the leading role. This is a solution of strategic significance, helping to liberate and exploit all capabilities for developing production forces and building a rational economic structure. This solution results from the reality of our economy and is an application of the Leninist viewpoint of considering the multicomponent economy as a characteristic feature of the transition period. In our country these components are:

-- The socialist economy comprising the state-run and collectivized sectors, together with the family-run economic component closely linked to the latter;

-- Other economic components which comprise the small commodity production economy: handicraftsmen, individual peasants, and those engaged in private trade and services; the private capitalist economy; the state capitalist economy in various forms with state-private joint ventures being a high form; and the natural and self-subsistence economy of some ethnic minorities in the Central Highlands and in other mountainous regions.

In carrying out the policy of socialist transformation, we must base ourselves on the aforementioned characteristic feature so as to work out correct guidelines and measures.

According to the law of correspondence between production relations and the character and level of development of production forces, the process of socialist transformation must be undertaken with appropriate steps and forms. Practical experience has clearly shown that production forces are held back not only in the case of backward production relations but also when production relations are not developed in a coordinated manner, with certain factors far more advanced than the level of development of production forces. Our country's realistic situation requires that importance be attached to intermediate and transitional economic forms, from the lower to the higher level, from small to large scale. In each step of the socialist transformation process, it is imperative to accelerate the building of material and technical bases, to create new production forces, and on this basis continue to shape production relations into new and appropriate forms and scale so as to further develop production forces.

The socialist transformation and the building of new relations cover three aspects, namely, the building of a system of public ownership of the means of production, a socialist management system, and a socialist means of distribution. Though public ownership of the means of production constitutes the foundation of the new relations of production, once the management and distribution systems do not correspond to each other, even the economic organizations of the public ownership system, which are better equipped technically, would yield less efficiency. Building the new relations of production in all three aspects, providing them with a real socialist nature, and linking them with each step in the development of the production forces are great tasks which cannot be accomplished within a short period of time.

Over the past 10 years, it was recorded in the resolutions of both national congresses of the party that the task was basically to complete socialist transformation within the term of the congress, yet this task has not been accomplished. Reality has taught us a hard-to-learn lesson that we must not be hasty and act heedless of objective laws. Now it must be corrected as follows: It is a permanent and continuous task throughout the period of transition to socialism to step up socialist transformation with appropriate forms and steps, making the relations of production correspond to the character and level of production forces and always be a driving force for the development of production forces.

In the years to come, in order to carry out socialist transformation steadily and bring into play the positive effect of the multi-sector economic structure, the most important thing is to consolidate and develop the socialist economy, first of all enabling the state sector to really play the leading role and control the other economic sectors.

We must renovate the management mechanism, ensure the right to autonomy for state-run economic units, really shift to cost accounting and socialist enterprise, and restore discipline and order in economic activities. We must rearrange production, strengthen the material and technical bases, and step up the application of technical advances in order to increase labor productivity, quality, and efficiency. On this basis, we will stabilize and gradually increase the real wages of workers and state employees and augment capital accumulation for each enterprise and the state. The state economic sector takes the initiative in enhancing integration with the other sectors in order to channel those sectors into the orbit of socialism.

In order to consolidate the collective economy, we must enhance the organizational and management skills and strengthen the material and technical bases along with maintaining exchange and integration links with the state sector and the household economy, first and foremost in the sphere of materials supply and marketing of

products. In agriculture, we should correctly handle the relation between the state, the state-run economy, and the cooperatives, and at the same time improve the internal management of the cooperatives, perfect the mode of fixing quotas of finished products for groups of producers and individual producers, and link the establishment of new relations of production and the building of the material and technical bases with the building of the new countryside. The production collectives in the south must be consolidated strictly in accordance with the criteria of the collective economy. Only when conditions are ripe can these production collectives be transformed into high-grade and large-scale cooperatives. This should not be done in haste.

The household economy, which plays an important role and has great potential, should be encouraged and assisted so that it can develop a close relationship of mutual aid with the state and collective economic sectors. As a matter of principle, after fulfilling their responsibilities and duties towards the state and the collective, families of workers, employees and cooperative members can, with their own labor, expand production or engage in business in various occupations in strict observance of the law and policies. The income of the household economy not only helps to improve the livelihood of the people, but also is a source of accumulation for extended reproduction.

The task of socialist transformation in the initial stage is that the socialist economy, with the state sector as the core, must play the decisive role in the national economy. Specifically, it must account for a large percentage both in production and circulation, prove its superiority, and exercise its control over the other sectors through economic integration.

With regard to the small commodity production economy, the state acknowledges the necessity of this economic sector in the transition period and will give it guidance and assistance in production and business, and in integration with the state and collective economies. People engaged in private undertakings should be motivated to take up the collective way of working on the basis of voluntariness and mutual benefit. Prejudice and discrimination against or harassment of those self-employed workers who are not yet willing to join collective economic organizations or who apply to withdraw from those organizations should be avoided.

With regard to small merchants, through various forms suitable to each trade or branch, we should arrange, transform, and employ them as a reserve force for the socialist trade, and assist the redundant labor force in the field of circulation to shift to production and service.

The state permits the petite bourgeoisie to use their capital, technical, and management skills for organizing production or running businesses in certain branches or trades in manufacturing and service industries in areas where they are needed throughout the country. The scale and scope of activities of private capitalist economic installations are to be stipulated according to the trades and categories of commodity. The activities of the private capitalist economy are guided along the orbit of socialism in various forms of state capitalist economy through the control of the state and economic integration with the state and collective sectors. The state capitalist economy constitutes a transitional form which can be organized from lower to higher level, that is from the supply and sale agents, sub-contracting agents to joint ventures with the state.

In the field of circulation, private capitalism must be eliminated. With regard to certain traders of medium-size business, skillful in handling perishables, the state should engage them in state-private joint enterprise in order to utilize their skills in accordance with the law and policies.



So, the utilization of the small commodity production economy and the private capitalist economy is always linked with the process of socialist transformation of those sectors through various forms.

Once we have acknowledged the existence of the small commodity production economy and the private capitalist economy, it is natural that we should constantly combat the tendency of spontaneous capitalist development and the negative aspects in the economic activities of those sectors. By virtue of the law, policies, and the strength of the socialist economy, the state controls and regulates those economic sectors according to the motto: "utilizing them for transformation, and transforming them for better utilization."

Consistent policies concerning the various economic sectors should be revised, amended, and publicized. Stipulations of principle must be turned into laws so that concerned people may confidently and boldly engage in business undertakings. Prejudice and bias in the assessment and treatment of laboring people in the different economic sectors must be done away with. The state economic policies such as those concerning investment, taxation, and credit, favor the socialist economic sector. However, as far as the law is concerned, the principle of equality must be observed. Those who turn out material wealth and render useful services to society, fulfill their obligations, and abide by the law and policies are respected and entitled to enjoy incomes corresponding to the results of their legal labor and undertakings. Lazy and parasitic elements should be criticized and forced to work. Lawbreakers are to be punished according to the law. Anyone who violates economic contracts will be fined and must pay the damages. That is the consistent policy toward all citizens, regardless of the economic sectors they belong to.

This viewpoint must permeate all concrete policies, propaganda, education and cultural work so as to establish a correct way of thinking among the people, creating a favorable socio-psychological environment for the implementation of the policies and the transformation of the multi-sector economy.

### 3. To renovate the economic management mechanism:

The rearrangement of the economic structure must be accompanied by the renovation of the economic management mechanism.

The bureaucratic centralized management mechanism based on state subsidies, which has been in force for many years now, far from creating a driving force for development, has weakened the socialist economy, limited the utilization and transformation of the other economic sectors, put a brake on production, reduced labor productivity, product quality, and economic efficiency, put distribution and circulation in a state of chaos, and given rise to numerous negative manifestations in our society.

In that mechanism, the economy is managed mainly through administrative orders with a system of detailed, legally enforceable plans and quotas handed down from the higher levels. This is not in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism. Economic-administrative organs interfere deeply in production and business activities of grass-roots units but are in no way materially responsible for their own decisions. As a result, the grass-roots economic units have no right to autonomy nor are they held responsible for the results of their production and business.

That mechanism does not pay adequate attention to the commodity-money relationship and economic efficiency. This results in a management and planning style mainly based on



relations of supply and delivery of materials and goods, realizing cost-accounting only for form's sake, divorcing responsibility and material interests from the efficiency of the utilization of capital, property, materials, and labor, and separating remuneration from the volume and quality of labor.

That mechanism has given rise to a cumbersome management apparatus with management cadres lacking in dynamism and business skills and indulging in a bureaucratic and authoritarian style of management.

The old mechanism is closely linked with an economic thinking based on over-simplified conceptions of socialism and characterized by subjectivism and voluntarism.

The guideline for renovating the economic management mechanism has been confirmed as follows: to abolish the bureaucratic centralized management based on state subsidies and to establish a new mechanism in conformity with the objective laws and with the development level of the economy.

Right after seizing power and getting hold of the key economic branches of the country, the socialist state is in a position to and must necessarily manage the national economy according to a unified plan. The plan is the number one characteristic of the economic management mechanism right from the beginning of the transition period.

The process of development from small-scale production to large-scale production in our country is the process of turning what is mainly a subsistence economy into a commodity economy. We are managing in a planned way a commodities manufacturing economy having the characteristics of the transition period. The full and correct use of the commodity-money relationship in planning the national economy is an objective necessity.

The correct use of the commodity-money relationship is the second characteristic of the new mechanism of economic management which we are building.

The use of the commodity-money relationship demands that production should be closely linked to the market, all economic activities should compare expenses and results, all economic organizations and units should themselves make up for the expenses and should gain profits to realize extended reproduction, that is, they should carry out accounting and socialist business.

The planning of the process of extended reproduction of commodities requires a comprehensive application of the system of laws which exerts an impact on the economy. In this system of laws, the fundamental economic law, together with other specific laws of socialism, has been bringing into ever fuller play its leading role, yet has been applied in a uniform way with the laws of commodity production, and especially with the laws of value and of supply and demand. Planning must always be closely linked with the correct use of economic levers. The economy must be managed mainly by economic methods which have as their driving force the harmonious combination of the interests of the whole society, the interests of the collective, and the personal interests of the working people. The income level of the collective and that of the worker must depend on labor results and economic efficiency.

The state-run and collective economic units are socialist commodity production units, therefore they have the right to autonomy in production, business, and finance. Labor collectives really play their role as masters in organizing and managing production and business.

All this leads to the need to decentralize economic planning and management on the principle of democratic centralism, on the basis of making a clear distinction between the function of the administrative economic management of the central and local state organs and the function of production-business management of the grass roots economic units.

Together with the correct determination of managerial tasks and functions of all levels and branches, we should renovate the organizational structure of the managerial machinery and cadre work, build a contingent of managers with good qualities and abilities to meet the need to renovate the management mechanism. The correct placement of the main responsible cadres in central and local economic managerial organs and in major economic establishments is a question of decisive significance to the building and functioning of the new management mechanism.

The essence of the new mechanism of economic management is the mechanism of planning in accordance with the procedures of economic accounting and socialist business and in conformity with the principle of democratic centralism.

The renovation of the management mechanism is a process of reforms having a profound revolutionary significance, a struggle between the old and the new, between the backward and the progressive. The struggle for renovation is not only held back by the force of habit, but also runs up against the privileges and prerogatives of some people who stick to the old mechanism. This is the struggle inside the party and the state organs, among comrades, and right within ourselves. There is the difficulty. The main obstacle we have to overcome now is conservatism in some people who want to return to the familiar old mechanism and who hesitate to solve problems which require prompt solution.

The main orientation and content of the renovation of the management mechanism have been determined. But what is more important and difficult is to find concrete economic forms, steps and contents for each phase of renovation work. As we lack experience, importance should be attached to the research, study, experimentation and summing up of practice. Manifestations of hastiness and simplism which find expression in the desire to complete renovation in a short period of time are not realistic.

In the course of renovating the economic management mechanism, the following questions of principle must be firmly grasped:

Realizing democratic centralism in economic management.

Bureaucratic centralism in management work is rampant, while disorganization and noncohesion in economic activities are also prevalent.

We must restore order and discipline in economic and social management. Because the management mechanism is fraught with bureaucratic centralism, the initiatives of the lower levels are held back and the efficiency of centralized management is reduced, which is the immediate cause leading to the state of disorder and indiscipline. We should not try to get over this chaotic state by returning to the old mechanism, but should be determined to implement the decentralization of management on the principle of democratic centralism.

The decentralization of management must ensure the right to mastery of the three levels: the right to make decisions at the central level -- including all the central branches -- over key fields of activity and over questions of strategic significance so

as to ensure the balanced development of the whole economy; the right to initiative of localities in fulfilling their task of socioeconomic management on their territories; and the right to autonomy in production and business of grass-roots economic units and the role of mastery of labor collectives. In the division of labor and decentralization of management, responsibility must go hand in hand with rights, and duty must be closely linked to interests.

The urgent demand is to apply these principles in the fields of concrete management still beset with problems such as planning, management of materials and goods, export and import, foreign currency, investment in capital construction, finance, money, prices, labor, and wages.

The role played in economic management by the central and local state organs, in the final analysis, is to create conditions for economic establishments to operate effectively. The state must supervise and control enterprises and production and business units belonging to all economic sectors, by means of laws and economic policies and the policy of technological advances, rather than deeply interfere in production and the business operations of enterprises. The law sets some limits which the enterprises are not allowed to violate. The policies compel enterprises to have their own options on production and business which prove the most useful in accordance with the guidelines of state plans. It is necessary to lay down stipulations to ensure the unified inspection and supervision by the state over the whole range of activities of grass-roots units. Cases of covering up, deceit, and false accounting and reports must be punished.

The building of the system of autonomy in production and business at enterprises and the working people's collective mastery at the grassroots must continue to be amended through experimentation and practice.

On that basis, it is possible to clarify and correctly settle the functions, duty and decentralization of administrative-economic management from the central organs to localities and from provinces to districts.

The principle of democratic centralism in economic management demands a higher sense of discipline and strict observance of the law. The guidance and direction from higher to lower levels, first of all from the central organs, must be in line with the resolutions of the party and the state and in accordance with the established functions, tasks, and rights. The lower levels must obey the higher levels while the higher levels must be responsible for their own decisions.

#### Renovation of planning:

Plans for the national economy in the coming years must ensure the implementation of guidelines for the rearrangement of the economy and the layout of production and the investment portfolio according to targeted programs. Balances in the plans are to be established from the grass roots and generalized from lower levels before being submitted to the central level for guidance and readjustment. Planning in branches and in territorial regions must be closely linked.

With the right to autonomy in production and business, all grass-roots economic units must take the initiative in maintaining contact with the demands of the market, exploiting all possibilities to develop production and business with the aim to realizing the targets and tasks of the state plans. Economic contracts among production and business units serve both as a basis for plan-making and the legal

instrument to ensure the implementation of the plans. We should enhance the system of economic contracts and guarantee its efficiency by means of the state economic arbitration system.

The state uses economic levers both in direct and indirect planning to ensure the implementation of the guidelines and targets of national economic plans. The establishment of legally-binding plans should be confined only to a number of quotas absolutely necessary to ensure basic balances and commitments to foreign countries. We should strive step-by-step to build the state's reserve forces so as to take the initiative in handling unexpected cases in the process of implementing the plan.

The State Planning Commission and other central organs with the function of administrative-economic management, once released from routine work, must concentrate more on studying the socioeconomic strategy, on working out long- and medium-term plans, on ensuring the overall and balanced relations in the economy, and on executing economic policies and law. These are important factors contributing to gradually raising the quality of national economic planning.

To make good use of the economic levers:

In order to stimulate the development of production, reestablish order in the market and stabilize it, we must have policies for expanding the circulation of goods, putting an end to such practices as banning normal market activities and dividing the market according to administrative boundaries.

In a multi-sector economy like ours, alongside the circulation of goods operated by the socialist trade system, there exists a free market which includes direct selling and buying activities between producers and consumers among the population and the circulation and service activities of private business people in both urban and rural areas.

The state takes effective measures to transform and abolish private capitalist trade and severely punishes speculators and traffickers. Nevertheless, it is impossible to abolish private small trade simply by means of administrative fiat. We can only restrict private trade by making socialist trade outperform it. On the other hand, we should know how to utilize it in those domains where socialist trade is not in a position to fare well or is not necessary.

The experience of many localities and grass-roots units shows that socialist trade is fully capable of claiming a trade monopoly over essential commodities and controlling the market if it knows how to do business, apply mainly economic measures in combination with education and administrative measures, and attract the direct participation of the masses. Naturally, state-run trade monopolizes the marketing of those commodities totally produced or imported by the state-run economic sector; and the state enforces administrative measures to ensure that monopoly. But even with regard to those supplies and goods, economic measures are also very important. If the pricing policy and the mode of trading are irrational, it will be impossible to prevent such goods from flowing to the free markets by devious routes.

As for products turned out by economic components other than the state-run sector, the principal measure which helps state-run economic organizations control marketable products is to adopt an appropriate pricing policy and mode of trading based on the principle of mutual agreement, mainly through economic contracts signed with the producers. Correct economic policies coupled with the investigation, detection, and



punishment of speculators and smugglers constitute effective measures for eliminating the black market. The policy of putting a straitjacket on prices and creating difficulties for trading, together with such measures as banning or restricting the selling of goods by peasants and producers on the market, will only compel them to find ways to cope with the state's measures by either holding back the goods, secretly selling them to private traders, or cutting back on production. This will eventually lead to a drop in production, tension between supply and demand, and soaring prices. This situation would only create more conditions for private traders to increase their activities and weaken the worker-peasant alliance. The pricing policy must involve the combined application of various laws of which the law of value has a direct impact. Prices must correspond to the value of goods and, at the same time, with the purchasing power of money; and take into account the relationship between supply and demand. The requirements for income adjustment, guaranteeing social policies, and promoting socialist transformation must be met through the concerted enforcement of various measures, including pricing, and financial and credit levers. Using pricing as the only measure for meeting these requirements means that the prices of goods will continue to have little relationship to their value.

To stabilize prices the pricing policy must aim first of all at encouraging production establishments and all the laboring people to turn out more marketable goods, reduce production costs, and eagerly sell their products to the state. It is impossible to stabilize prices by rigidly maintaining them in disregard for the purchasing power of money, the relationship of supply and demand, and the fluctuation of price-forming factors. On the other hand, active measures should be taken to gradually do away with the spontaneous character of free market prices.

We must strive to apply the system of a single price, which is the commercial price. The single-price policy, closely linked with the mechanism of socialist business accounting, will have the effect of stimulating production and expanding the circulation of goods, and creating conditions for the socialist trade service to switch to business enterprise and seize control of the market. It will avoid creating artificial demand and effectively prevent the stealing and slipping out of goods.

In the present specific situation, in certain areas and at certain times where a few essential commodities are subject to strains between demand and supply, and to great fluctuations in price which the state does not have sufficient resources to curb, then the dual-price policy can be applied on a temporary basis in the purchase of farm produce and the retail sale of consumer goods.

To create conditions for the state-run trade to extricate itself from the predicament in which it finds it difficult to buy or sell, thus leaving a vacuum in the market, we should promptly set up a mechanism for fixing and correctly controlling prices.

The wage policy must meet the urgent demand that the real wages of wage-earners be ensured at a time when the fund of commodities controlled by the state is still insufficient and prices remain unstable.

It is essential that we should develop production, that the state should control the commodity fund as regards grain, foodstuffs, and other essential goods, apply an appropriate mode of selling to make sure that wage-earners can buy the needed commodities, and that the use of ration books should be restricted to the minimum.

The correct application of the principle of distribution according to labor calls for a radical reform of the wage system in such a way as to ensure the reproduction of labor

power, do away with egalitarianism, step by step abolish the remaining subsidized part in the wage system, and apply the forms of remuneration closely linked to the results of labor and economic efficiency. These problems must be solved simultaneously with the application of the labor contracts system and the streamlining of the state administrative apparatus and the non-productive management apparatus of production and business organizations.

This must be realized steadily and step by step, in keeping with the possibility of achieving a balanced commodity-money relationship and the rate of increase in labor productivity.

The financial and monetary policy plays an important role in bringing economic activities under the business cost accounting mechanism, combating inflation, and stabilizing prices and the currency's purchasing power.

We must, step by step, work out and complete national financial policies in such a way as to ensure the right to financial autonomy of economic enterprises; stimulate strongly the state sector and other sectors to expand production with high labor productivity, product quality, and economic effectiveness in order to create ever-growing sources of accumulation for each unit and for the state; and to adjust and distribute the various sources of incomes in a rational manner with a view to achieving social justice and ensuring that the accumulation-consumption relationship corresponds with the socioeconomic objectives.

The various financial policies and regulations, primarily the tax policy, must be renovated. We must put an end to the state financing system through the budget, characterized by indiscriminate subsidies and funds allocated without being bound to material responsibility as regards the effectiveness of their utilization. We should avoid using the credit funds in ways that do not conform with the socialist business accounting approach and amend some regulations on social welfare that are beyond the actual possibilities of the economy. Financial regulations will take into account the policy of strict economy both in production and consumption.

The increasing budget deficit is the most important cause of inflation and soaring prices. To strive for a reduction of the deficit, hence a balance between revenue and expenditure, is the primary task of our financial work in the 1986-90 period. Alongside the fundamental permanent measures in the national financial policy, it is necessary to take extraordinary measures applied in a short period in order to increase revenue, reduce spending, thus restricting and ultimately putting an end to issuing money for budget expenditure.

The banks have an urgent task, that of striving in coordination with the financial and other economic sectors, to reduce inflation, effect a rational readjustment of the amount of circulating money on the basis of accelerating the circulation of money, and widely apply various forms of noncash payments. This will actively contribute to reestablish the money-commodity balance, stabilize the currency's purchasing power, and satisfy the need for funds for the expansion of production and goods circulation.

Besides the task of controlling the money circulation of the state banks, it is necessary to set up a system of specialized banks doing business in credits and banking services and operating on the basis of economic cost accounting. Good service must be the basis upon which to exercise the function of supervision by monetary means over production and business activities, and authoritarianism must be combated. Collective credit organizations must be developed widely among the population and usury by private money-lenders must be prevented.

The policy of thrift must be properly assimilated in planning and in the use of economic levers. The main guideline for practicing thrift in every economic activity is to effect a vigorous shift to socialist business cost accounting and to link responsibility and material interests with the effectiveness of the utilization of property, capital, materials and labor. In the environment of business cost accounting, it is necessary to step up the application of scientific and technical advances, establish and apply economic-technical norms in order to reduce production costs. Along with economy of energy materials we should raise the utilization efficiency of equipment, and apply technical advances to maintaining and prolonging the life time of machines. To ensure the quality of products means to practice thrift both in production and consumption. Economic policies must be carried out in combination with administrative and educational measures in order to encourage production of high-quality goods, preventing the making of bad-quality ones and punishing the making of fake goods.

Everybody must be encouraged to practice thrift in consumption, save money for accumulation, and develop production in various forms. The policy of thrift in consumption must be aimed at encouraging the use of domestically manufactured goods, limiting the use of goods reserved for export, and preventing the import of luxury goods. The use of public money for feasting and gift-giving must be strictly prohibited. We must combat waste in the use of public property and facilities for daily life needs.

The process of renovating economic management poses multiple problems to be solved in order to bring the entire system of management policies, regulations, and rules, as well as the management apparatus, under the new mechanism. This reform of a revolutionary character must be carried out in a uniform manner, with cooperation between higher and lower levels and renovation of the managerial agencies and the mass movement.

The amendment and promulgation of management policies and regulations must be based on the realities and on the initiatives and experience gathered from various localities and grass-roots units, instead of being only the result of research done by a few cadres sitting in their offices.

In the immediate future, we shall take effective measures to curb inflation and the rate of price increases, thus easing the problems in the living conditions of wage earners. Only by so doing can we create the economic, social, and psychological premises for speeding up the process of reform. Through expeditious and firm steps, we must strive by 1990 to have basically established the new management mechanism; reorganized the management apparatus; and redistributed, trained, and upgraded a contingent of cadres capable of ensuring the smooth running of that mechanism.

#### 4. To bring into full play the driving force of science and technology:

With the world rapidly moving into a new stage of the scientific-technological revolution and through the realities of our country, we see all the more clearly the urgent necessity of making science and technology really a great driving force for the socioeconomic development of the country.

The key position occupied by the scientific-technological revolution in the building of socialism must find its expression in life. On the basis of what have been accomplished, we should step up and complete the elaboration of a scientific-technological development strategy serving as a scientific ground for the socioeconomic development strategy and for defining the orientation of scientific and technological work.

The choice of orientation for the scientific-technological work must be in line with the choice of objectives and orientation for socioeconomic development. In the coming years we must select and rapidly put into wide application appropriate scientific and technological achievements with a view to serving, first of all, the three programs on grain and food, consumer goods, and export goods. In agriculture, biological and other scientific-technological achievements should be widely applied to fertilize the soil, rapidly increase productivity in cultivation and animal husbandry, raise the coefficient of utilization of the soil and reduce the deterioration and losses of grain and other agricultural products. In industry, construction, communications and transportation, scientific-technological activities should be geared to improving, renewing, and perfecting technologies, rationalizing production organization, renewing equipment, producing raw materials, materials, and spare parts, sharply reducing the consumption of materials, making full use of raw materials, and renewing and raising the quality of products, especially export goods.

We must apply a number of selected research subjects related to such modern scientific and technological branches as bio-engineering, new materials and technologies, electronics, and computer science. We must step up the work of economic survey and evaluation of the natural economic resources and natural, demographic, and socioeconomic conditions. We must also accelerate the work of strategic forecasting and study, carry out zoning work for programming purposes and for distribution of productive forces, establish economic and technical theories for major policies on socioeconomic development, and make the best use of and effectively preserve the ecological environment.

The natural sciences must step up research on subjects that can provide a scientific basis for the development of various technical branches and the selective application of modern scientific and technological achievements, thus defining the scientific and technological orientations.

We must take integrated and effective measures to overcome the slow progress in social sciences. The principal task of the social sciences in the coming years is to take an active part in the party's theoretical work, contribute to the elaboration of the programme for the socialist revolution in our country in the transition period, and shed light on a series of theoretical questions, especially in the field of economic and social management, on the basis of summing up the practical experience of our country and grasping promptly and with keenness the theoretical achievements of fraternal countries. Social sciences must become a sharp instrument for the renovation of conceptual and thinking methods and the formation of social consciousness and socialist personality.



The organic combination of social sciences, natural sciences, and technical sciences should be stepped up. Each economic development project must take into account all the economic, technical, social, and environmental aspects. Efforts should be concentrated on solving pressing scientific-technological problems with practical effectiveness.

The scientific and technical force should be reorganized, properly distributed, and put to effective use. Appropriate mechanisms, policies, and measures should be instituted in order to encourage and create favorable conditions for scientific and technical cadres to bring into play their creative labor and to work in production enterprises and economic zones where their presence is needed. The party and state will try to create favorable conditions for scientific and technical workers to work efficiently and make everyone contribute to the country by making inventions, rapidly applying scientific-technical advances to production, and studying to solve socioeconomic problems.

Scientific institutions should be organized and rationally distributed in various territorial regions on the principle of closely linking science and technology with production and life in order to use science and technology as a component part of social productive forces, and do away with overlapping, redundancy and fragmentation. On that principle, we shall bring a number of research institutions into specialized applied technology under the control of associated enterprises or big enterprises. Various forms of association between science and production should be expanded. Combined scientific-production organizations with appropriate form and scale are to be set up. The activity of centers for applying technical advances should be well organized. The test-production sections of scientific and technical research institutions are to be reinforced. The role of universities and vocational secondary schools is to be further promoted in carrying out research and development according to the principle of closely combining science, training, and production. A number of general scientific-technological centers for important economic zones will be established. Preparations should be made for the establishment of the Vietnam Academy of Sciences.

The level of investments in science and technology is to be augmented from different sources: state budget, self-established funds of production enterprises, concentrated fund of the branch, favored credits from the banks, and so forth. Importance should be attached to in-depth investment and good management in order to put to effective use the existing material and technical facilities of scientific-technological institutions.

We must broaden and enhance the effectiveness of international cooperation in science and technology. Through this cooperation, we should promptly grasp the scientific and technological achievement and avoid waste caused by research overlapping. Scientific and technical cooperation must be closely linked to economic cooperation. The policy of selective transfer of technology is to be worked out and implemented in combination with research and development in the country.

We must participate actively in the general program for scientific-technological advance in line with the priorities defined by the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance until the year 2000.

The promotion of the role of science and technology as a driving force depends to an important extent on the management mechanism. The economic management mechanism and the scientific-technological management mechanism call for and encourage the creation and wide application of achievements in science and technology in order to bring about practical results. We should widely apply the mode of contracting for research and

development between scientific-technical organizations, production, and business ones. A number of research institutions on applied research and technical development will be gradually brought together under the economic cost accounting system. Those institutions have the right to autonomy and bear responsibility for their scientific-technical activity. The production and business enterprises will buy inventions which will be accounted for in the production costs. The various policies and measures on prices, profits, taxes, credits, wages, bonus, specialized funds, and so forth must help stimulate production and business enterprises to approach the scientific establishments, place orders with them, and use science and technology as a decisive factor for heightening the efficiency of production and business. The regulations on copyright and rewards for the creation and application of technological advances must be fully implemented. The State Scientific and Technological State Awards Council must work in a practical manner. It is necessary to build up and develop activities concerning industrial ownership, such as copyright, trademarks, and so forth.

We must intensify the activities on standardization, measurement, inspection, and control of product quality; link the producers' responsibility and interests with the quality of products; insure discipline in production according to standards and norms; step up the work of inspection, control, appraisal and certification of product quality; and institutionalize and strictly implement the regulations on technological authentication.

We must reinforce the system of economic, scientific, and technical information; enhance the capacity of ensuring information for the work of leadership and management and for research, development, and production activities; and create favorable conditions for receiving economic, scientific, and technical information from abroad.

The mass media must be developed vigorously and its quality improved both in content and in form. The work of maintaining archives must be well organized in order to ensure their safety and to use them effectively.

The scientific-technological revolution is the work of the masses. Our party pursues a policy of stepping up the mass movement to march into the field of science and technology. This policy stimulates initiative, encourages the propagation of scientific and technological knowledge, the summing up and broad application of advanced experience and models, and the mobilization of millions of people in scientific and technical activities through their creative labor.

Leading and managerial cadres at various levels have an important role and a great responsibility in ensuring the successful implementation of the task of scientific-technological development. The present level of responsible cadres is to be further improved to keep pace with the demand of the new steps of scientific-technological development.

#### **5. Expand and heighten the effectiveness of external economic relations:**

Whether the task of stabilizing and developing the economy in the initial stage as well as the cause of scientific and technological development and socialist industrialization in our country will be carried out rapidly or not depends to a great degree on the expansion and heightening of the effectiveness of our external economic relations.

If we want to combine the strength of the nation with that of the era, our country must participate in the international division of labor, primarily and principally by broadening the division of labor and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, and Cambodia, and with other countries in the socialist community. At the same time, we must broaden economic and scientific-technological relations with Third World countries, industrially advanced countries, international organizations, and private individuals abroad on the principle of equality and mutual benefit.

CEMA's comprehensive program of assistance and its cooperation with Vietnam to the year 2000 on preferential terms constitutes a great advantage for the development of our external economic relations, industrialization, and the building of a new economic structure in our country. We must, together with the fraternal CEMA members take part in building this program and fulfill our responsibility in its execution. The beginning of the radical improvement of CEMA's working, and the reform of the structure and focus of economic, scientific, and technological cooperation among CEMA members require us to renovate our management mechanism accordingly, especially in the field of external economic relations.

In the whole area of external economic relations, the most important task is to boost exports to meet the need for imports. With regard to the export program for the years ahead, we must calculate in a concrete and precise manner the economic efficiency of each product in order to select the most profitable for export, and determine the principal export products which have both great volume and good conditions for stability and development in terms of production and market. On that basis, we should develop integrated plans of investment, from raw materials to processing, maintenance and transport, while organizing production and circulation in a rational manner, renovating the management mechanism and using the economic lever policies in order to implement successfully the export program.

Agricultural, forestry, and fishing products occupy the most important place in the export structure of the coming years. We must rapidly increase the volume of products and increase processing capacity, while striving to lower production costs and raise the efficiency of foreign exchange earnings. We must strive to organize well the export of farm products to the eastern region of the Soviet Union, thus obtaining a stable and growing position on this market.

We should make full use of our abundant and skilled labor for the execution of sub-contracts signed with foreign countries for turning out handicraft products and some other consumer goods from ordinary to sophisticated levels, and exploit this great potential in our cooperation with the CEMA members.

We should step up the export of those minerals which have a reasonable rate of foreign exchange earnings.

Priority must be given to fulfilling the commitments made to foreign countries and strictly implementing export contracts as regards quantity, quality, and delivery time. We must carry out these tasks on a priority basis, no matter what difficulties and obstacles we may face.

We should reinforce the discipline on delivery of export goods according to plan, and at the same time link the distribution of imported goods with the delivery of export goods, instead of distributing them in the state-subsidized and egalitarian way done up to now.

In order to do away with price inflation and competition in buying export goods, we should promulgate, along with administrative and organizational measures, a policy on export taxes, especially with regard to those items with a high foreign exchange earnings rate.

The import structure must be in line with and properly serve the reorganization of the production structure and the readjustment of the investment structure. It is necessary to promulgate a policy on import taxes in order to do away with irrational imports and prevent the import of luxury goods. We should determine correctly and promptly the prices for imported goods in order to avoid wasteful use and losses of goods and encourage the production and use of domestic substitutes for imported goods.

Import-export activities must be shifted vigorously to the socialist business cost accounting mechanism on the principle of the state's monopoly over foreign trade and the unified management by the central government of exports and imports according to plans, laws, and policies. A question of primary importance is the renovation of management of units producing and dealing in export goods. Besides the common regulations on the right of autonomy in production and business operations of grass-roots units, it is necessary to complement the policy of encouraging the production of export goods, in order to create conditions for export goods producing units to keep abreast with the needs, tastes, prices, and other business conditions on the world market. Those production units with a fairly large volume of exports are allowed to deal directly with foreign customers under the control of the Ministry of Foreign Trade.

We should rationally rearrange the import-export organizations, remove intermediary links and troublesome procedures, bring under unified management the export and import of important items, and do away with purchasing competition on the domestic market and buying and selling competition on foreign markets. Those business organizations assigned to unify export and import channels must operate in the mode of business enterprise, instead of in a bureaucratic and authoritarian way, pressurizing and causing troubles to people producing exports or needing imports. The accounting and division of profits gained from exports must be done in a fair and open manner so that the grass-roots units and localities realize it is more profitable to export through organized channels than to do it by themselves.

The Foreign Trade Bank, while assuming the unified management of foreign exchange, must guarantee the right of foreign exchange account owners to use such accounts in accordance with the state's policy. We should study the system of buying and selling foreign exchange through the Foreign Trade Bank to prepare conditions for the application of the system when the value of the domestic currency is stabilized. A mechanism for timely adjustment of the internal accounting rate on foreign exchange and the non-market exchange rate, especially with regard to overseas remittances, must be applied in order to keep abreast of the actual situation. We should have policies aimed at encouraging overseas Vietnamese to send money and materials to the country instead of sending consumer goods.

Along with expanding imports and exports and securing financial aid and long-term loans, we should apply diversified forms in developing our external economic relations.



We should further broaden the all-round cooperative relations with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, ranging from subcontracting and joint ventures to direct investment, further strengthen the relations of direct cooperation and association in production and science between our country's economic, scientific and technical organizations and their counterparts in the fraternal countries.

The policy of encouraging foreign investment in various forms is to be publicized, especially in those branches and enterprises for which high technology is needed and which produce goods for export. Along with the promulgation of the investment code, we should have policies and measures to create favorable conditions for foreigners and overseas Vietnamese to come to our country for business cooperation. Importance should be attached to organizing and encouraging overseas Vietnamese to contribute to national construction in various ways, including technical and capital investment, bringing into play their potential for helping broaden our cooperative relations with foreign countries, companies, and economic organizations.

We must step up scientific-technical cooperation and the training of cadres and skilled workers. The sending of labor and experts abroad to work on contracts must be well organized under many forms with attention paid to the form of project-based contracting for construction and various services. Our country's favorable conditions for the development of tourism should be promptly exploited through domestic investment and cooperation with foreign countries. International transport, shipping, and aircraft handling services are to be developed.

In our relations of special alliance with Laos and Cambodia in the fields of economy, science, and technology, we should attach importance to practical effectiveness, ensuring benefit and growth for the economies of all the three countries. We should promptly engage in the division of labor and cooperation in production and coordinated investment in those fields where conditions permit, while rapidly increasing the volume of goods and services exchanged among the three countries, and continuing to help Laos and Cambodia conduct basic survey and program zoning, and the training of cadres.

The broadening of external economic relations will give rise to complications, and we will have to take measures to curb and prevent negative phenomena, but that is no reason for shutting our doors. We should formulate plans for training and upgrading the moral and professional qualities of the contingent of cadres working in the field of external economic relations, including full-time specialized cadres and those working in production and business establishments having business relations with foreign countries.

Dear comrades: The following are some major guidelines and tasks of social policies: Social policies embrace all aspects of human life, including working and living conditions, education and culture, family relations, and the relations between different social classes and ethnic entities. The viewpoint of our party and state on the unity of economic and social policies should be fully reflected in realities. We should overcome all manifestations of slighting social policies, that is, slighting the human factor in socialist construction.

The level of economic development constitutes a material condition for the implementation of social policies. However, the social targets are the objectives of economic activities. Right in the framework of economic activities, social policies -- through their direct influence on the working people's labor productivity and the quality of products -- are an important factor for the development of production. For this reason, we should work out fundamental and long-term social policies and concretize the tasks and objectives suited to the demands and capabilities in the initial stage.

In bringing into full play the human factor and regarding serving the people as the highest objective for all activities, we should formulate plans for building the new social class structure, concretize and implement the policy on ethnic entities and the policy regarding freedom and belief.

While advancing toward radical abolition of the socioeconomic foundation of social inequity, we should carry out a firm struggle against all negative phenomena so that the principles of social justice and a healthy lifestyle can be affirmed in the daily life of our society.

1. To implement demographic planning and create employment for the working people:

Efforts should be made to reduce the annual population growth rate to 1.7 percent in 1990. The party, administration, and mass organizations at all levels should give close and regular guidance to the family planning movement, considering it a very important condition for raising the per capita national income and achieving the socioeconomic objectives.

Together with investing in the expansion of the technical network for birth control and family planning, we should pay special attention to educational and cultural measures aimed at helping change the psychology and practices of the people, first of all young men and women, about family planning. Efforts should be made to guide the implementation of the law on marriage and family after its ratification by the National Assembly.

It is a primary socioeconomic task in the years ahead to provide jobs for the working people, first of all for young people and for those living in urban areas. Along with creating more jobs for the people, the state should formulate policies aimed at enabling the working people to secure their own employment. To this end, it should encourage the development of the family economy and exploit the potentials of other economic sectors, including the private capitalist economic sector. We should promulgate and implement the law on labor.

The orientation for solving the employment problem is to expand on-the-spot trades and occupations to employ a major part of the new and surplus labor force along with reallocating the labor force across the country. Attention should be paid to developing agriculture, handicrafts, small industry, services, and other areas of production, especially the production of goods for export and the manufacturing of goods through subcontracts with foreign countries.

We should expand labor cooperation with foreign countries in combination with vocational training for young people and the improvement of our specialists' professional standards. Attention should be paid to forming an appropriate structure of trade and occupations, selecting workers and cadres according to proper criteria, and closely supervising them organizationally and ideologically. Together with the host countries, we should take care of the material and cultural life of those Vietnamese working in foreign countries and properly organize their remitting money and goods to their families. Attention should be given to creating jobs for those who have returned home after working or studying in foreign countries.

We should step up campaigns to motivate nomadic people to settle down to a sedentary life and farm in mountainous regions, attaching this task to the work of economic zoning and building at district levels. We should supplement the policy toward the building of new economic zones and sedentary farming, and building the economic and social infrastructure in order to create favorable conditions for the new settlers to stabilize production and their life.

In the state sector, we should markedly reduce staff in the non-productive sector and administrative management, and shift them to production and service industries.

2. To realize social justice and a cultured lifestyle, ensure social safety, restore order and discipline in all aspects of social life.

We should ensure an adequate income for the laboring people according to their work efficiency. This will be instrumental in stimulating their zeal for labor. The legitimate interests of legal business transactions and services beneficial to society should be respected. Sources of ill-gotten income must be prevented and strictly dealt with. We should combine the strength of functional bodies with the struggle of the masses to severely punish law breakers regardless of their positions. Public criticism in the press is a legitimate right of all citizens and should be done in a well-regulated manner. We should ensure equality in the rights and obligations of all citizens and oppose all abuses of privileges and prerogatives.

We should build a life and work style in line with the law, restore order and discipline in all activities of the state and social activities, uphold the people's sense of awareness and self-respect in combination with the educational and administrative measures to be taken by social organizations and state bodies. Concern for the people and mutual respect should become an ethical criterion in all economic, cultural, and social activities, especially in services catering to the majority of the population.

3. To care for and satisfy the people's educational and cultural needs, protect and improve their health.

On the basis of boosting production to increase the national income, we should gradually expand the social consumption fund, enabling it to play an ever greater role in the development of education, public health, culture, and other areas of the people's welfare.

On education:

The objective of our education is to form and comprehensively develop the socialist personal character of the younger generation, and train a skilled labor force with a homogeneous set of trades and occupations suited to the demand for the social division of labor. Education, especially higher and vocational education, should directly contribute to the renovation of socioeconomic management. To this end, we should sum up our experience in implementing educational reform, make readjustments and improve its quality. The educational system is to be developed in a planned manner from preschool to higher education and postgraduate training to ensure the quality and efficiency of the training, and rationally organized to reflect the unified character of the educational process comprising various forms — training and refresher courses, regular and irregular courses, fulltime and in-service courses. The objectives of each training course should be concretized into training programs and criteria for rating the results of training. We should improve the regime of examinations and the issuance of certificates, diplomas, and other academic degrees to ensure quality and fairness.

We should build the preschool education sector, raise the quality of education among preschool children, and build more kindergarten classrooms. We should eliminate the illiteracy still found in some localities, accomplish compulsory primary education among school-age children, make junior high school education universal in localities where conditions permit, and step by step secondary education with diversified forms.

The curriculum for general educational schools should comprise basic general knowledge, labor, general skills, general vocational guidance and job-training. We should step up education in mountainous regions and advocate the use of languages of ethnic groups alongside the national language.

Efforts should be made to expand and consolidate vocational schools and courses to train and foster skilled workers and develop job-training centers enrolling the youth and other working people. We should rearrange the network of universities and colleges, foster the contingent of leading professional cadres for different branches and services. Along with increasing the quality of professional and practical training adequate attention should be paid to political, ideological, ethical, and legal education, and education for physical strength and national defense. Teaching and learning should be combined with productive labor, scientific experimentation and research, and the application of technical advances. We should thoroughly prepare the young people to embark on their life of labor production and fighting, helping them to better understand and perform their civic duties.

The quality and proficiency of educational cadres and teachers should be regularly upgraded. We should pay attention to heightening their social status and taking care of their material and spiritual life. We should work out a reasonable policy on scholarships for students at universities, secondary technical colleges, and vocational schools.

The program for educational development should be closely associated with the socioeconomic development plans in each locality and in the country as a whole. Adequate investment should be made in the educational sphere, primarily to insure a sufficient supply of textbooks and school facilities for learning and teaching. Besides the state budget, we should clearly determine the contributions to be made by various branches and localities and economic and social organizations to the educational cause. International cooperation in the educational field should be utilized. Preparations are to be made for the promulgation of the law on education.

#### **On cultural and literature and art activities:**

The quality of the cultural, literary, and artistic work should be raised. Such cultural, literary and artistic activity should be marked by its social efficiency, its positive effect on the psychology and sentiments of the people in raising their socialist consciousness, and its aesthetic standards. Attention should be paid to meeting the healthy demands and taste of the people of various social strata and different age groups.

We must intensify mass cultural activities, making them a common pursuit of all our youths. We should overcome all manifestations of fanaticism and formalism. We should build and better use the network of libraries, clubs, cultural houses, museums, and exhibition houses from the central down to grass-roots levels, in different provinces and localities. We should exercise close management control over the theaters, publishing and film-making and the distribution of books, newspapers, and films; develop the mass media and improve the quality of information to help the working people at grass-roots establishments in various regions acquaint themselves with the cultural and artistic values of the nation and the world as a whole; and popularize natural and modern knowledge of science and technology. We should bring cultural and art activities to the mountainous regions and outlying rural areas. The attention must be paid to applying national, modern, and simple architecture of the different regions and population centers.



We should improve the policies toward professional artists, granting adequate remuneration and encouraging creativity and the development of talents. Cooperation between state organs and associations of literary and art workers and other mass organizations should be promoted to develop the initiative and creativity of individuals and collectives of writers and artists, and keep them in close contact with the working masses. The state and people should join efforts to build the necessary material and technical bases for cultural and artistic activities, and to preserve and restore historical and cultural relics. We should complete the collection of the cultural and artistic assets of various ethnic groups across the country, encourage artistic research and experimentation, ensure the activities of art ensembles with an even higher quality, and prevent the tendency of commercialism and other negative phenomena.

We should oppose the vestiges of feudal, colonialist, and bourgeois cultures, frustrate the plots and moves by hostile forces to turn cultural and artistic activities into a means of sowing pessimism and a depraved lifestyle, and crack down on superstitions and other backward customs and practices.

On caring for, protecting and improving the people's health:

The people's health, the future of our nation, has always been a cause of concern for our party and state, and is the responsibility of all branches and mass organizations and also the responsibility and vital interest of each citizen.

On the basis of assimilating the viewpoints on preventive medicine, combining modern medicine with traditional medical practice, and carrying out the motto "Joint efforts of the state and the people," we should immediately focus on raising the quality of public health activities to achieve marked progress in the care of the people's health.

We should take active measures and enact appropriate policies to quickly consolidate the public health service network, especially in rural and urban districts and at grass-roots levels. We should launch a mass movement and mobilize the forces of all sectors to participate in preserving and cleaning up the environment and in preventing and combating epidemics and social and occupational diseases.

We should improve the quality and efficiency of medical checkups and treatments, intensively educate medical cadres and workers in the attitude and spirit of serving patients, step up scientific research work, carry out reform in the training and upgrading of medical cadres, and unceasingly raise the standard of our medical science and health care. We should strive to make more investment in the public health service and give better care for the material and cultural lives of the contingent of medical cadres.

We should develop the production of pharmaceutical materials and products, and medical facilities and equipment, and expand the growing, processing and effective use of traditional medicines. We should institute policies on investment to form concentrated regions for growing medicinal plants and herbs, create sources of raw materials for the production of pharmaceutical products for domestic use and export, expand pharmacology, and build an antibiotic industry. We must strive to increase the capabilities for export to cover the import of what we cannot produce at home, and build the pharmaceutical industry. We should make better use of international cooperation and aid in the service of the people's health care.

Together with the public health service, sports and physical culture should contribute to restoring and improving the people's health.

We should broaden the masses' sports and physical training movements and raise their quality, step by step making physical exercises a daily routine for all people, especially the younger generation. The quality of physical education at schools should be heightened. The system of schools and classes for children showing an aptitude for sports is to be consolidated and expanded while developing the contingent of young athletes, selecting suitable sports, and concentrating efforts on improving records. Attention should be paid to educating socialist ethics and the spirit of sportsmanship among the athletes. We should strive to ensure the conditions for personnel, sciences, technology, material facilities, and especially the organization and management of sports and physical training work.

#### 4. To promulgate social security policies:

Our country has just undergone a long struggle and at present we still have national defense and international duties to perform. The number of disabled soldiers, war veterans, and the families of fallen combatants is considerable. The number of retired cadres and workers is increasing.

We should step by step develop a socialist social security policy for the entire people according to the motto "Joint efforts of the state and people," expand and develop projects catering for social security, and establish diversified networks and forms of social security for those who have rendered meritorious services to the revolution and for those in distress. Policies and regulations concerning social security should be supplemented to make them compatible with the process of renovating the economic and social management mechanism.

We should correctly implement the system of retirement and better organize the social, health-care, and cultural and information service for pensioners. We should involve retired veteran revolutionary cadres, war veterans, and disabled soldiers in social, cultural, and political activities in appropriate forms suitable to their health conditions and their experience, especially their participation in educating and fostering the younger generation.

We should work out plans and take practical measures to draw those who are still physically fit for work to participate in production and service activities, and to train and employ disabled soldiers in suitable jobs. War invalids, children of fallen combatants and people who have fulfilled their military duties should be given priority in obtaining jobs and studying at schools and colleges.

We should attend to and take better care of disabled and sick soldiers, close relatives of fallen combatants, and old and helpless people who have rendered meritorious services to the revolution. Orphans and handicapped and old and helpless people should be taken care of.

As a unit of society, the family plays a very important role in building a new system, a new economy, and new men. The party, state, and mass organizations should work out guidelines and policies and institute measures of organization and implementation to build the new cultured family with a view to ensuring family happiness. The people's sense of awareness should be promoted in forming ethical and sentimental relations in each family, implementing family planning, better raising children, and building the material and cultural life of the family.

Housing is one of the fundamental issues in the socioeconomic policy of our state. We should adopt a comprehensive policy toward the housing problem and draw more investment from the state, collectives, and the people in the production of building materials and the construction of more dwelling houses. We should ensure a fair and equitable distribution of houses in the cities and provincial towns.

5. To correctly implement the class and ethnic policies:

The class policy, including the policy toward each class and the policy governing the relations among the interests of different classes, and the ethnic policy have always constituted an important part of our social policies.

In the period of transition, the old social class structure is being gradually replaced by the new one. This process should be unfolded in a planned manner and closely linked with the execution of the socioeconomic objectives and tasks.

We should take a correct and overall viewpoint and introduce effective policies and measures aimed at comprehensively building the working class, the collective peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia, making the socio-political foundation of the new society ever firmer, ensuring and bringing into full play the superiority of the socialist forces in the struggle between the two paths. We should conduct basic surveys, secure reliable information on the social and class structure in the whole country as well as in each locality after more than 10 years of socialist transformation on the social and class structure in the whole country as well as in each locality after more than 10 years of socialist transformation and construction, and spot problems to be solved on the basis of the class policy.

Leaders at all echelons should follow with due attention and keen concern the opinions and aspirations of the masses with a view to readjusting and amending policies, especially on issues relating to the vital interests of each class and each social stratum.

To accelerate the three revolutions in regions of ethnic groups, we should intensify ethnological research and social surveys aimed at thoroughly understanding the specific differences between regions and ethnic minorities. On this basis, we should amend, formulate, and better implement the ethnic policy, and avoid cliches or wishful thinking leading to imposing inappropriate organizational forms on the process of economic, social, and cultural building and development in regions of ethnic minorities.

We should increase investment, concentrate greater efforts of all sectors and echelons, and encourage the spirit of self-reliance and self-support of the people of ethnic groups with a view to exploiting, protecting, and developing economic strongpoints in the regions inhabited by ethnic groups. We must step up the movement to settle nomadic people for a sedentary life and farming, and stabilize the life of people in highland and border areas and former revolutionary and resistance bases.

While promoting socioeconomic development in areas mainly inhabited by compatriots of various ethnic minority groups, we should fully implement the ethnic policy; ensure the development of the fine and close relations among ethnic groups in the spirit of unity, equality, mutual assistance, and collective mastery of society; combine economic development with social development; boost production; and look after the life of the people, including local people and those who have come from other regions in the country.

The program of moving people in lowland regions to highland areas with the aim of rearranging the social labor force on a national scale should embrace the plan for forming a new social class structure in regions inhabited by ethnic groups. We should take appropriate measures to involve local people of ethnic groups in the process of economic development in their capacity as truly equal masters of society.

The comprehensive development of each ethnic entity should be closely associated with the consolidation and development of the community of all ethnic groups in our country. Strengthening the sense of community and unity is a process that conforms to objective laws. This sense, however, should not contradict nor exclude the diversified and unique characteristics in the true identity of each ethnic entity. Ethnic feelings and psychology will remain for a long time and are a sensitive area. To handle relations among ethnic groups, we should adopt a prudent policy toward issues relating to the interests of each ethnic group and the ethnic feelings of each person. We should oppose all manifestations of a big-ethnic group attitude and actions and of narrow-minded nationalism.

### PART III. International Tasks and Foreign Policy of Our Party and State

A key factor in the law of the revolution in our times is the combination between the struggle of the people of each country and the common struggle of the world people. The victory of the revolution in each country is also a victory of the whole progressive mankind in the common struggle against imperialism and other reactionary forces.

The victory of our people in the anti-U.S. war of resistance for national salvation is a vivid expression of the combination of the strength of our nation with that of the revolutionary and progressive forces in the world. Today the revolutionary cause of our country enjoys even more favorable conditions for broadening international cooperation and winning international support.

In the years to come, the tasks of our party and state in the field of external affairs are to strive to combine the strength of our nation with that of the era, firmly maintain peace in Indochina, contribute actively to firmly safeguarding peace in Southeast Asia and the world, consolidate the special relationship between the three Indochinese countries, strengthen the relations of friendship and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community, secure favorable international conditions for the cause of building socialism and defending the fatherland and, at the same time, make active contributions to the common struggle of the world people for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

The diplomatic activities of our party and state must serve the struggle to defend the fatherland, maintain political security, defeat the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, and continue to fulfill our internationalist duty toward Cambodia and Laos. We should secure new favorable conditions in economic and scientific-technological cooperation, participate in an increasingly widespread manner in the division of labor and cooperation within CEMA and, at the same time, strive to expand our relations with other countries.

To strengthen solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union is always the cornerstone of the foreign policy of our party and state. The Soviet Union -- the fatherland of the great Lenin and the homeland of the October Revolution of which we shall celebrate the 70th anniversary next year -- is the most radiant symbol of the strength and superiority of socialism and socialist internationalism. Our party, once again, expresses its total support for the domestic and foreign policies approved by the 25th CPSU Congress and for the CPSU's newly-revised program of activity, considering it a model of the creative application of Marxist-Leninist doctrine. On the basis of the Vietnam-Soviet Union Treaty of Friendship and Cooperation, we are making every effort to constantly raise the quality and effectiveness of all-round cooperation in the interests of the two countries and, at the same time, to step up the coordination of our actions with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal socialist countries in the struggle for peace and revolution in the world, first of all in the Asia-Pacific region.



The high-level meetings of party and state leaders of Vietnam and the Soviet Union, among them the recent 11th meeting between Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh and Comrade General Secretary Gorbachev, have demonstrated the high unity of views between the two parties and states and marked the incessant development of the fraternal solidarity and all-round cooperation between our country and the Soviet Union.

Our party is deeply conscious of the fact that developing and consolidating the special relationship between the three Indochinese countries, unity and mutual respect for each country's independence and sovereignty, all-round cooperation, and mutual assistance in carrying out national construction and defense constitute a law governing the survival and development of all the three fraternal nations. Through practical and effective measures, we strive to develop the relations between our country and Laos and Cambodia, making each country and all the three countries ever stronger, foiling the enemy's divisive schemes and maneuvers. Vietnam is invariably true to its internationalist duty toward the Lao and Cambodian revolutions. We regard every success scored in the cause of national construction and defense of the two fraternal countries as our own, and each success of ours as inseparable from the solidarity, support, and assistance accorded by the parties, states, and peoples of the two fraternal countries.

We continue to strengthen our relations of friendship and cooperation with the CEMA member countries: Poland, Bulgaria, Cuba, GDR, Hungary, Mongolia, Romania, and Czechoslovakia. We are also broadening our relations with other fraternal socialist countries such as Albania and Korea.

The meeting of the general secretaries and first secretaries of the parties and CEMA member countries recently held in Moscow marked a new step in raising the level of cooperation among the socialist countries in all fields, especially the economic field, serving the cause of accelerating the progress of fraternal countries. We particularly rejoice at the fact that the leaders of the fraternal countries were unanimous on the necessity to set forth a program for heightening the effectiveness of CEMA's cooperation with and assistance for Vietnam, Cuba, and Mongolia in conformity with the characteristics of each country. Our country is doing its utmost to contribute to raising the effectiveness of the economic, scientific, and technological cooperation in CEMA, and coordinate efforts with the fraternal countries in consolidating unity, augmenting strength, and promoting the influence of the socialist community. We are participating positively in the program of cooperation on scientific and technological advances among CEMA member countries. With a spirit of self-reliance and socialist internationalism, our people are determined to do their best to use all the potentials of the country in the cause of national construction and defense and, at the same time, for the fulfillment of their duty and commitments for the consolidation and strengthening of the common force of the socialist community.

As a detachment of the international communist and workers movement, our party contributes positively to strengthening the unity of the movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism and stepping up the cooperation between fraternal parties in the struggle for the common objectives, namely peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism.

We consistently and positively support the movement of struggle for national liberation and independence and condemn the policy that the imperialist circles, first and foremost the U.S. imperialists, are carrying out against young independent countries in an attempt to wipe out the revolutionary gains of those countries. We stand for solidarity with the national liberation movements and the forces of national independence and social progress in the struggle to defend the sovereignty of each country and the right to equality between countries, for a new world economic order, to oppose all forms of colonialism, racism, apartheid, and Zionism.

We extend our strong support for and uphold our solidarity and cooperation with the independent countries which have chosen the path of socialism.

As a member of the Nonaligned Movement, we rejoice to see the growth and the ever-greater role played by the movement in international political life, including the important contributions rendered by the Republic of Cuba and the Republic of India -- chairpersons of the movement in the recent very difficult period from the sixth to the seventh summit conferences. We express total approval of the noble objectives, namely peace, disarmament, and national independence set forth by the Eighth Summit Conference of the Nonaligned Movement and are determined to make a worthy contribution to the new step of development of the movement.

We strongly support the heroic struggle waged by the working class and people in the developed capitalist countries against the oppression and exploitation by monopoly capitalism, against the nuclear arms race, and for peace, democracy, employment, and improvement of the standards of living. We support the fraternal communist and workers parties' policy of uniting and rallying all democratic and progressive forces.

Our party and state support the policy of the Soviet Union and the European socialist countries aimed at building a lasting peace and security in Europe on the basis of respect for the territorial-political status quo that has taken shape since the end of World War II. This policy has found its expression in life in the spirit of the Helsinki and Stockholm conferences and has contributed to the development of good-neighborly relations and peaceful cooperation among countries with different socioeconomic systems in Europe.

As a nation that has endured untold sacrifices in the protracted struggle for independence and freedom, we deeply sympathize with and express our militant solidarity and strong support for the African people, especially the people of the countries in southern Africa who are waging a staunch struggle against imperialism, colonialism, racism, and apartheid. We always stand by the side of the people of Angola, Ethiopia, and Mozambique in their struggle to safeguard their independence and to build a new life. The struggle of the South African people under the leadership of the African National Congress against the South African dictatorial regime; the struggle of the Namibian people under the leadership of the South-West African People's Organization for the return of their independence; and the struggle of the people of the frontline countries in Africa against the apartheid regime of South Africa will certainly be victorious. We support the efforts of Zimbabwe, a young African frontline country which is assuming the chairmanship of the Nonaligned Movement and making an active contribution to resolving the burning issues of Africa.

We stand in close solidarity with the people of fraternal Algeria and the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen who are building their new life. We support the struggle of the people of Sahrawi to consolidate and complete their independence. We demand

that the United States and other imperialist countries give up their scheme of economic blockade and their acts against Libya and Syria. We vehemently condemn Israel for its continued occupation of part of Lebanese territory and resolutely support the struggle of the Palestinian people, of whom the PLO is the representative, for their sacred fundamental national rights. We firmly support the people of other Arab countries against Israeli Zionism backed by the United States.

The communists and people of our country greatly rejoice at the brilliant victories scored by the Cuban people in the cause of building socialism and defending their homeland; by heroic Nicaragua which, seething with fighting spirit, is defending its revolutionary gains; and by the Salvadoran people in their undaunted struggle under the leadership of the Farabundo Marti National Liberation Front against U.S. imperialist intervention and the fascist dictatorial regime.

Our party and state perseveringly pursue a foreign policy of peace and friendship. We stand for and support the policy of peaceful coexistence between countries with different sociopolitical systems, the elimination of aggression and all forms of terrorism, especially state terrorism regarded by U.S. imperialism as its national policy. We support the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union to eliminate nuclear weapons and to establish a comprehensive international security system on the military, political, economic, and social domains. We demand that the United States assume a serious attitude in its relations with the Soviet Union and hold discussions with the latter to work out concrete and practical measures aimed at ending the arms race, firstly to end nuclear weapons tests. We lay bare the obstinate attitude of the United States, which still refuses to give up its arms race both on earth and in space, thereby aggravating tension in international relations.

In the present situation of Asia which is developing in a complicated manner as a result of the formation by the United States of a NATO-type military alliance in the Orient, our party, government, and people highly value and totally support the comprehensive plan for peace in Asia and the Pacific set forth by Comrade General Secretary of the CPSU Central Committee Gorbachev in Vladivostok.

Our party and state highly appreciate the solidarity and multifaceted cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of India of which a new, good step of development was marked by the visit of Comrade General Secretary Gorbachev to India last November. This constitutes a very important factor for the cause of peace in Asia and the world. We welcome the New Delhi statement, an important document which embodies the will and aspirations of all mankind in the struggle for a world free from nuclear weapons and from violence in international relations.

We support the Soviet Union's policy of normalizing relations with China; support the initiative of Mongolia on proceeding toward a treaty of nonuse of force and nonthreat to use force among countries in the region; support the efforts aimed at turning the Indian Ocean into a zone of peace and the initiatives aimed at establishing nuclear free zones in Southeast Asia; support the national independence and denuclearization movement of the South Pacific countries and on the Korean peninsula; support the initiatives of the DPRK aimed at reducing tension and proceeding toward unifying the two parts of the country by peaceful and democratic means; and support the firm measures taken by Afghanistan to counter the undeclared war waged by imperialist forces and their henchmen.

Our people highly value the Soviet Union's goodwilled stand as evidenced by its decision to partially withdraw and advance toward a complete withdrawal of Soviet Army

units from Afghanistan when a political solution is reached to guarantee a permanent end to the armed intervention from outside against that country.

We wish to see an early end to the armed conflict between Iran and Iraq.

We incessantly strengthen and broaden the relations of friendship and cooperation with the Republic of India, a country occupying a specially important position in Asia and the world, and a great friend who has always reserved for our people fine sentiments and wholehearted support and assistance.

The Vietnamese people and the Chinese people have had age-old friendly relations and have united and assisted each other in the struggle against imperialism for independence, freedom, and national construction. The peoples of the two countries share common interests, namely peace, independence, and economic development. The Vietnamese Government and people invariably treasure friendship between the two peoples and resolve to do their best to restore it; and have put forth many proposals aimed at early normalization of relations between our country and the PRC. Our position is to set great store by the fundamental and long-term interests of the two countries. We hold that the time has come for the two sides to enter into negotiations to solve both the immediate and long-term problems in the relations between the two countries.

Once again, we officially declare that Vietnam is ready to negotiate with China at any time, at any level, and in any place in order to normalize relations between the two countries in the interests of the two peoples and of peace in Southeast Asia and the rest of the world.

We welcome the fair and rational decision of the LPDR Government aimed at normalizing relations with the PRC on the basis of mutual respect for independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and peaceful coexistence. We fully agree with the Lao Government's readiness to do its best to create favorable conditions for strengthening mutual understanding and trust with the Kingdom of Thailand, first of all for the resumption of negotiations with that country so as to normalize bilateral relations.

We totally support the PRK's stand of readiness to negotiate with opposition individuals and groups to realize national concord on the basis of excluding the Pol Pot clique of genocidal criminals. Our government stands for the continued withdrawal of Vietnamese Army volunteers from Cambodia and at the same time, is ready to cooperate with all parties concerned so as to proceed toward a correct political solution in Cambodia.

The Vietnamese Government and people constantly strive to develop friendly relations and cooperation with Indonesia and other Southeast Asian countries. We desire and stand ready to hold negotiations with countries in the region in order to solve the problems in Southeast Asia, establish relations of peaceful coexistence, and build Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation. Our state advocates strengthening and broadening friendly relations with Sweden, Finland, France, Australia, Japan, and other Western countries on the basis of equality and mutual benefit. Our government continues to hold talks with the United States to solve humanitarian problems left by the war and is ready to improve relations with the United States in the interest of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.



True to Marxism-Leninism and imbued with great President Ho Chi Minh's pure revolutionary thoughts and sentiments, our party continues holding high the banner of peace, national independence, and socialism, harmoniously combining genuine patriotism with proletarian internationalism, firmly maintaining independence and sovereignty, strengthening international cooperation, and striving to fulfill national tasks and satisfactorily discharge internationalist duty toward the world peoples.

#### Part IV Developing the Laboring People's Right to Collective Mastery and Enhancing the Management Efficiency of the Socialist State

The lesson that revolution is the work of the masses is always important. Revolutionary practice has demonstrated that a revolutionary movement will occur wherever the laboring people are imbued with a sense of mastery and entitled to genuine mastery.

In applying this lesson to a new stage of the revolution, our people considers socialist collective mastery to be the essence of the socialist democratic system, which should be reflected in every aspect of life. We have defined the relationship of leadership by the party, mastery by the people, and management by the state into an overall mechanism in the management of the entire society. The achievements recorded in the undertaking to build socialism and defend the fatherland have testified to our people's profound patriotism, devotion to socialism, great energy, endurance through hardship, industrious and creative labor, and courage in fighting; and to the efforts made by the party and state machineries in discharging their functions.

Beside these fine manifestations, there exist in our society abnormal phenomena -- the lack of a close bond between the party, the state, and the people; bureaucracy in the leading and management organs and in those organizations specially entrusted with mass work. The main cause for this is that the mechanism for coordinating the activities of the party, the people, and the state has not yet been concretized into institution.

Together with the consequences left by the old mechanism of economic management, manifestations of bureaucratism in the attitude and workstyle of leading cadres at various levels and in various sectors, including economic and administrative units at the grass-roots, have not yet been criticized and done away with. A number of party cadres and members, especially those having positions and powers, forgetful of the months and years when they shared weal and woe with the people during the war of liberation, stayed aloof from the people and did not show any concern for resolving the pressing problems raised by the masses.

Some party committee echelons took mass work slightly and did not rely on the people to guide and control basic party organizations. Not a few administrative bodies did not respect the opinions of the people and were used only to enforce administrative measures instead of carrying out mass proselytizing work. The party has not yet brought into play the role and functions of mass organizations in educating the masses and motivating them to participate in socioeconomic management. The mass organizations have yet to positively renovate their mode of operation to suit their character.

The whole party from the leading comrades down to every party member, must be imbued with Uncle Ho's teaching: Our party represents the common interest of the working class and the entire laboring people instead of striving for the particular interests of any group or individual. A sense of serving the people should be permeated in every activity conducted by party cadres and members and state employees. That is the primary criterion by which to judge each person's qualities.

The people's right to mastery should be institutionalized by law and organization. Democracy must go hand in hand with discipline; so must rights and interests with responsibilities and obligations. Everyone must master their own labor and work with discipline and high efficiency in order to make worthy contributions to the cause of national construction. Every citizen must take part in maintaining security, order, and social safety; opposing the enemy's sabotage; and defending the fatherland, which should be regarded as their sacred obligations and noble rights.

The objectives set forth by the party congress can only be achieved through creative revolutionary actions by millions of people. The party and state should adopt a policy aimed at building the contingent of the working class, the collective peasantry, and the socialist intelligentsia; consolidating the worker-peasant alliance; and caring for the education of the younger generation.

Concerning the working class, the party should work out concrete measures to raise its socialist consciousness and understanding in all aspects, making it worthy of its role as the vanguard class of the revolution. At the same time, the party must cater to its material and cultural life and create necessary conditions for the working class to fulfill its historical mission.

Management is not only the work of professional managerial cadres, but it is the people's undertaking as well. There should be, therefore, participation by the masses in the management of state organs — either administrative or production and business — and the management of law and order. Right at the moment when an option or policy is elaborated and decided on, the leading and managerial organs must think about and correctly give full play to the people's role in socioeconomic management. It is necessary to eliminate the erroneous view that mass work is only a measure to organize and motivate the people to implement various positions and policies. Concerning those policies directly related to the people's life throughout the country as well as in various localities and grass-roots units, the party committees or administrative organs must organize the consultations with the people before making any decisions. Let the people know, discuss, carry out, and inspect policies — this is a daily practice of the new society which manifests the system that ensures the working people's right to manage state affairs by themselves.

It is necessary to encourage wide and constant participation by the masses in renovating the mechanism of economic management. The collectives of working people have the right and duty to take part in formulating production and business plans, in the disposition of the work force, in the selection of managerial cadres, and in the inspection and supervision of activities of the managerial organs. The party committees must play a leading role in organizing congresses of workers and employees in enterprises and offices and congresses of members of agricultural cooperatives and production collectives and in small industry and handicraft cooperatives, thereby creating conditions for the collectives of working people to have their say as the direct masters in the grass-roots units.

In villages, city wards, and population centers, it is necessary to bring into full play the role of the trade union, the youth union, the women's union, the collective peasants' association, and the fatherland front in motivating the people to develop production, engage in family economic activities, organize the distribution and circulation of goods and services, conduct cultural and educational activities, protect health and the environment, and maintain social order and safety.

Together with concern and care for the people's life, state organs must respect and guarantee the citizen's rights laid down in the Constitution. After the promulgation of the penal code and the drafting of the marriage and family law, our state still has to issue other laws as well. It is necessary to overhaul and consolidate the organization and enforce effective measures in order to abolish bribery and abuse of power and get rid of and severely punish those degraded elements who bleed the people and oppress the masses in the name of the party and the administration. The court, control, inspection, and security organs must rely on the people to discover and take timely action against violations of citizens' rights.

The elimination of violations of the law and protection of production and socialist property can be carried out effectively only by actually relying on inspection and supervision by the masses. In this respect, the mass organizations play an important role. To be effective, inspection and supervision by the people of state organs should be organized and directed by mass organizations. It is necessary to use the people's inspection system, strengthen the system of workers and employees' inspection system in enterprises and offices, and broadly develop various forms of participation by the youth union, the women's union, and the front in the inspection process.

Labor discipline and social order can be consolidated only when there is a correct management mechanism backed by strong legal measures together with education in social ethics.

To exercise the laboring people's right to collective mastery is in fact to respect man, to develop the creativity of the people of all walks of life and channel it toward building a new society, and through the process of socio-economic construction to train and temper the new man and form new labor collectives. In order to build up a strong collective, it is necessary to mold each man and pay attention to discovering and fostering talents. The building of a new way of life and a new man assumes a special importance in our society. If we fail to build up a sense of awareness and self-mastery for everyone, then the right of all to collective mastery cannot be guaranteed.

The cultural, literary, artistic, educational, and mass media sectors should, on the one hand, have a clear grasp of the masses' aspirations and feelings in order to serve them well and keep the party informed; on the other hand, they are responsible for creating correct public opinion which effectively helps exercise the people's right to collective mastery. The watchwords -- the people have faith in the party, the party has faith in the people -- should be realized in daily life through concrete deeds.

The Vietnam Fatherland Front, the Democratic Party, the Socialist Party, and mass organizations -- first of all the trade union, the collective peasants' association, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, and the women's union -- play a great role in mobilizing the people of all walks of life to take part in economic construction and development and in social management. All administrative echelons and branches must respect mass organizations and the front, work in close coordination with the latter, and create favorable conditions for them to operate with realistic results.

Party members, administrative cadres, and members of the Armed Forces and public security service must also take a direct role in mass proselytizing

on a daily basis, considering it necessary for the performance of their specialized tasks.

Party committees at various echelons must assume close leadership over mass organizations, set forth tasks and objectives of action according to their specific functions and duties, and train and upgrade the contingent of mass organization cadres. Yet, they must respect the organizational independence of the mass organizations and stimulate their initiative and creativity in carrying out revolutionary tasks. The mass organizations must also quickly renovate the content and mode of their work to suit the reforms in socio-economic management. The activities of mass organizations must be vigorously shifted to the grass roots in order to draw the broad participation of the masses in revolutionary movements.

It is now necessary to solve numerous problems regarding the masses' legitimate interest. In the immediate future, efforts must be concentrated on resolving solvable issues in accordance with each section of the people.

Concerning workers and civil servants, we must implement a reasonable wage system and provide social welfare necessary to ensure the material and cultural life for the working people and their families. The party should review its experience and issue resolutions concerning the building of the working class. The state should make amendments to the trade union law.

Regarding peasants, we must find satisfactory solutions to problems related to the peasants' obligation to contribute to the state and their own interests. The state must review its policies concerning peasants and abolish the incorrect ones.

Concerning intellectuals, the most important thing is to ensure their freedom of creativity. We must correctly evaluate their abilities and create conditions for the correct use and development of these abilities. We must do away with narrowminded views of those who fail to realize that present-day intellectuals are socialist working people who are educated and led by the party and who are developing even closer contacts with the workers and peasants.

Youths should be assured of employment when they come of age. We must pay attention to fostering their personalities and abilities and must educate them in the ideal of the motto: Let us live, struggle, work, and study following great Uncle Ho's example. We must fully realize that the young people are the generation entrusted with the historic mission of successfully building socialism. We should boldly give them responsibilities and train them and foster them through social activities. Teenagers and children should be educated and cared for in social affection and family love. Party committees and youth unions at all levels must be concerned with building the Ho Chi Minh Pioneer Teenagers' Group. Women in general, and female workers in particular, have some special features that should be taken into consideration. In order to develop the great role of women in the revolutionary cause, we should make sure that the party's guidelines for motivating women permeate the entire system of dictatorship of the proletariat and concretize them into policies and laws. State organs, in



coordination with mass organizations, should adopt practical measures to create more employment for women, train and foster women cadres, ensure mother and child health care, and correctly put into effect the marriage and family law in order to create conditions for women to combine their obligations as citizens with their functions as mothers and build happy families.

The party must continue to bring into play the tradition of unity and staunch and courageous revolutionary struggle of the ethnic minority nationalities in our country in order to consolidate and further strengthen unity among nationalities for the purpose of building prosperous and strong mountainous regions and successfully realizing the targets and revolutionary tasks set by our congress. We should further the education of party cadres and members, the Armed Forces, and people throughout the country regarding the nationalities policy; heighten vigilance; and promptly expose and frustrate the enemy's schemes and acts aimed at sowing national discord. Programs and plans are needed to step up the training and fostering of the cadre contingent of ethnic minorities, especially those from the highlands, border areas, and some areas in the south.

Our party and state have consistently pursued a policy of respect for freedom of belief. We must lead and assist religious people to unite in building a new life and enthusiastically participate in national defense. We must be on guard against and oppose with resolve and timeliness attempts and maneuvers by the imperialists and reactionaries to drive a wedge between religious people and nonreligious ones and between people of different religions. Overseas Vietnamese, who are forming a community that is merging into the host society, always feel attached to the homeland. Our party and state, with understanding and high appreciation of their patriotism, will create more favorable conditions for them to build up unity within their community, keep contact with their relatives at home, and contribute more and more to the cause of building the fatherland.

Dear comrades, our state is an instrument of the system of socialist collective mastery, which is organized by the working class and the laboring people into an organ of political power. During this transition period, it is a proletarian dictatorship state that exercises socialist democracy. Under the party's leadership, the state's functions are to institutionalize by law the rights, interests, and obligations of the laboring people, and to carry out socioeconomic management according to law. Our state must guarantee the genuine democratic rights of the laboring people and, at the same time, resolutely punish those who violate the people's right to mastery.

Raising the effectiveness of management by the state is a pressing task and a necessary condition for guaranteeing the mobilization of the masses' enormous strength in order to fulfill all political duties set forth by the party, thereby meeting the requirements and aspirations of the people.

Our state apparatus is still bulky and ineffective. The management mechanism based on centralized bureaucracy and state subsidies is directly responsible for making the apparatus heavy and laden with numerous tiers and levels. The functions and duties of the organization, as well as those of the cadre have not yet been clearly defined. In some central and local branches there exists a tendency of subdivision into various bodies and self-contained specialized units; this results in many redundant or overlapping organizations. In many cases, assigned cadres and employees are not equal to their tasks, and the system of job responsibility is not solidly established. Regarding work style, there are many manifestations of formalism and red tape, too many meetings, too many delays, and lack of a scientific basis in decision-making; moreover, organization for executing decisions is also deficient.

To set up a new management mechanism, it is necessary to initiate a large-scale reform and organize state organs along the following lines:

To set up and institute a state management mechanism that reflects the working people's right to collective mastery at all levels. To strengthen the state apparatus from the central down to the local and grass-roots levels and turn it into an integrated system, with a clear-cut delegation of tasks, division of responsibilities, and authority for each level, on the principle of democratic centralism; a clear distinction between functions for economic-administrative management and for production and business management, and combination of branch management and management by regions and territories, in conformity with the characteristics of the socioeconomic situation.

A state apparatus should be fully capable of discharging its functions in:

- Institutionalizing the party lines and decisions into law and specific policies;
- Working out a socioeconomic strategy and concretizing it into plans for socioeconomic development;
- Exercising socioeconomic and administrative management; coordinating economic and social activities in the entire society as required by plans; maintaining state regulations, law and order, and national defense and security;
- Supervising the implementation of the state plan, discovering the imbalances and working out measures to overcome them;
- Instituting scientifically based and highly efficient labor regulations; and
- Setting up a streamlined apparatus of high quality with a contingent of cadres possessing good political virtues and capabilities in state, economic, and social management.

The state must fulfill the tasks of working out socioeconomic plans, programs for scientific-technological advancement, and a system of laws, policies, and regulations.

It must raise the capabilities for administrative management, preserve socialist legality and exercise its state authority to the full and, at the same time, set up an economic management system in accordance with the new management mechanism, giving greater scope to the initiative of the basic economic units in production and business.

To strengthen the effectiveness of the management by the state means, first and foremost, to uphold the role of the National Assembly and the State Council and of the people's council at all levels. At present, publicly-elected bodies at different levels are still selected, elected, and functioning in a formalist way. In many cases, party committees at various echelons run the whole show, doing the work of state organs; the selection of people into elected bodies in many places is done in a forcible manner. Many people's committees do not really respect the people's councils.

The publicly-elected bodies, from the National Assembly down to the people's councils at all levels should constantly improve and sum up their activities in good time. They should enrich the contents of their meetings, and discuss and decide practical matters. Socialist legality and supervision of the activities of the state management bodies are to be strengthened so as to help the elected bodies correctly perform their function, duties, and authority.

The Council of Ministers and the people's committees at all levels must improve their guiding and supervisory capacities so as to organize the effective implementation of party and state viewpoints and policies. A pressing problem is to rearrange ministries, state commissions, and general departments, and to streamline the state administration machinery of the ministries. A ministry's administrative management machinery should not deeply involve itself in enterprises' production and business operations. It is necessary to reduce the number of such intermediate organs as agencies, departments, bureaus, and sections; to vigorously shift to the direct expert-type workstyle; and to limit the number of deputies at all levels and organs. Along the guidelines for rearranging the state machinery at the central level, the apparatus of local people's committee should also be streamlined and given full powers, duties, and managerial capabilities over the areas under their jurisdiction.

The management of the country should be performed by law instead of simply by moral concepts. The law is the institutionalization of party lines and policies and a manifestation of the people's will; and it must be applied uniformly throughout the country. To observe the law is to implement party lines and policies. Management by law requires attention to be paid to lawmaking. It is necessary to step by step supplement and perfect the legal system so as to ensure that the state machinery be organized and operated in accordance with the law.

We must attach great importance to the work of educating in, disseminating, and interpreting the law. Legal education should be introduced into the network of party and state schools, including general education schools, colleges, and schools run by mass organizations. All managerial cadres, from the central down to the grass-roots level, must acquire a knowledge of administrative management and an understanding of the law. Various forms and measures should be used to educate the people in order to enhance their sense of observing the law, and to provide them with legal counsel.

The law must be strictly observed. All people are equal before the law. With the party in power, all cadres, whatever their positions, must live and work in compliance with the law, and be exemplary in respecting the law. No one is allowed to use his power and influence to act at variance with the law. All violations must be brought to justice. Those who violate the law must stand trial according to legal procedures, and their cases should not be handled as internal affairs. We should not follow the feudal practice of trying the common people according to the law and mandarins according to rites.

The Constitution stipulates that during trials, judges and people's jurors are independent and subject only to the law. All attempts to cover up offenses against the law or offenders in whatever form are prohibited.

We must use the force of the socialist legal system coupled with that of public opinion to counter offenses against the law. Party committee echelons from top to bottom must constantly exercise leadership over judicial work, reinforce the judicial sector with qualified and capable cadres, and closely control the activities of judicial organs.

Concerning the renovation of workstyle, to ensure good leadership and management it is necessary to make correct and timely decisions and organize the execution of these decisions. Preparations for making decisions and decision-making must follow strict regulations. We should put an end to bureaucratic work practices which entail many unnecessary intermediate levels and put into effect a workstyle that involves investigations, studies, and expeditious handling of affairs and does away with complicated procedures that inconvenience the people. A decision-maker must be held responsible for his decisions.

In order to enhance the effectiveness of state management and socioeconomic management it is necessary to have a contingent of qualified cadres who possess abilities, experience, political qualities, and revolutionary virtues. State administrative cadres -- from ministers, vice ministers, chairmen at all levels, and agency and department heads down -- must have a good grasp of the principles and systems of administrative management, knowledge of the law, and professional efficiency. We have cadres who deal with general affairs but no cadres who can be considered proficient in all types of affairs. To increase the state's managerial efficiency and confer more responsibility on cadres holding key positions in various sectors, we must from now on cease to appoint cadres with little or no specialized knowledge to leading or managerial positions at specialized organs, and put into effect a system for removing from office irresponsible and incompetent cadres.

In order to expand and upgrade the contingent of cadres, we should reorganize the system of training schools and devise plans to upgrade various categories of cadres according to appropriate programs. All leading and managerial cadres in key positions, from the central level to provinces, districts, and villages, from general directors down to managerial cadres in grass-roots units, must attend regular training courses and undergo examinations in order to study in a practical and systematic manner lines and policies as well as the management mechanism and gain new knowledge of management and technical, professional, and legal matters.

Raising the efficiency of state management and putting into effect the working people's right to mastery are in fact a unified whole. Under the socialist system, everything is done by the people and for the people; only when it is truly done by the people can it really serve the people to the full. Gradual and steady observance of this fundamental principle is the decisive factor of all successes of the revolution.

#### **Part V Enhancing the Leading Ability and Fighting Capacity of the Party**

Dear Comrades, the past 5 years was a period full of activity and trials for the party. From both achievements and errors, our party has achieved further maturity in its leadership work. This congress is a milestone marking that step of maturation. However, all that has been achieved or left unfinished has also shown that our party's leadership work has not yet proved equal to the tasks of the new period. Our party has not yet met the requirements in the solving of many socioeconomic problems, in its style of leadership, and also in developing the qualities of party cadres and members.



The root cause of this inequality lies in the fact that, for several years, we have neglected party building work and have met with shortcomings in the process. This should be fully realized by the entire party, from its Central Committee down to its grass-roots organizations and its every member, with a high sense of responsibility.

The large scale and complex character of the socioeconomic tasks in the period of transition, the who-will-beat-whom struggle between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and the struggle between our people against imperialism and international reaction demand the unceasing enhancement of the leading ability and the fighting capacity of our party.

Our party must be mature in political leadership, develop and concretize its lines, and work out correct solutions to the new problems of the cause of socialist construction and national defense. To enhance its fighting capacity and its practical organizational ability, the party must carry out renovations in many aspects: renovation in thinking, first of all economic thinking; renovation in organization; renovation of the cadre contingent; and renovation of the style of leadership and work.

The party must take great pains to build itself into a firm and strong party in politics, ideology, and organization, thereby exerting a decisive impact on the development of the revolution in our country.

1. To renovate thinking, enhance the revolutionary qualities of party cadres and members and of the people is the principal task of the ideological work:

The world today is rapidly changing. Socialism is endeavoring to clearly demonstrate its superiority over capitalism in every aspect. For the fraternal socialist countries, renovation is the way to surge forward to meet the needs of the times, to successfully cope with all trials, and to satisfy the ever-increasing requirements of the people. For our country, renovation is an imperative demand of the revolutionary cause and a matter of vital significance. For many years now, there has existed in our knowledge of socialism many outdated concepts, especially those concerning industrialization, socialist transformation, the economic management mechanism, distribution and circulation, and so forth. This is a cause of the slow development and concretization of the general line and the economic line in the initial stage of the period of transition. Therefore, only by means of renovation, first of all renovation of our thinking, can we overcome difficulties and achieve the objectives set forth by the sixth congress.

To renovate thinking, our party must fully grasp the revolutionary and scientific nature of Marxism-Leninism; inherit the invaluable revolutionary ideological and theoretical heritage of President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan, and other leaders of our party; and absorb the theoretical achievements and the new rich, experience of the fraternal parties and the scientific advances of our times. We must promote theoretical research work, systematically sum up the work of socialist construction and national defense, draw correct conclusions, and do away with erroneous or out-of-date concepts. To renovate thinking does not mean negating the theoretical achievements that have been recorded, nor negating the universal laws of socialist construction, the correct lines that have been defined. What it does mean is complementing and developing those achievements.

The documents of the Sixth CPV Congress demonstrate the beginning of the renovation of thinking by our party. Everyone of us, from leaders to ordinary party members, working in whatever field, should again check our knowledge and absorb new concepts in good time, be resolved to break with erroneous concepts, inculcate the resolutions of the congress into every party member and every working person, effect a renovation in conception, and raise revolutionary enthusiasm in party cadres and members of the people. These are the first and foremost tasks of ideological work.

The renovation of thinking in all fields of activity of our party and state is both an urgent task and a regular and long-term one. The conservatism and inertia of old concepts are no small obstacle, especially when those concepts are closely tied to inveterate individualists and conservatives. Favorable social conditions should be created to ensure the process of renovation of thinking; the democratic atmosphere in society, especially in party life, and in scientific research; the spirit of respect for the truth; an accurate information system; regular and serious criticism and self-criticism, and so forth. It is important to lay great store in theoretical work with a view to giving the renovation of thinking a scientific context.

Together with the renovation of thinking, ideological work must be directed at forging new qualities and virtues; enhancing the love the country and socialism, the spirit of proletarian internationalism, and socialist internationalism; and arousing the people's revolutionary spirit. The political qualities of each person must find their expression in his firm stand in the struggle between the two paths, between us and the enemy, between the wholesome and the degenerate; in his perseverance, dynamism, creativity, high sense of responsibility, and efficiency in his work performance; in his conviction of the people's strength; and in the leadership of the party in the struggle for the fulfillment of the tasks. Pessimism, vacillation, loss of confidence, disorientation, which are contrary to the fine nature of the vanguard revolutionary fighter, must be eliminated.

The question of social morals is posed as a matter of urgency. In our society a struggle is taking place between the two ways of life: one that is idealistic, healthy, honest, living by one's own labor, with a sense of respect for and defense of public property, concern for collective and national interests; and the other, characterized by pragmatism, deceit, selfishness, parasitism, and money-seeking. The forces operating on the ideological front must actively take part in that struggle by condemning and exposing the rotten nature of the old way of life, strongly asserting and widely propagating new moral values, and promoting the formation of a new way of life.

In the world, as in our country, the struggle between socialist ideology and bourgeois ideology is fierce. Our enemies, both at home and abroad, are seeking every means to undermine our cause ideologically. They spread all sorts of distortions with a view to undermining our party and our system. Communists should heighten their spirit of revolutionary offensive, keenly keep abreast of the situation, and promptly smash the enemy's slander campaign. In the past, ideological work was not really carried out in that direction. At times and in some places, certain party members showed their passivity, indifference, and helplessness in the face of false reports and ill-intentioned rumors, and were paralyzed in the face of the enemy's ideological attack. In order to do away with such conditions, it is necessary to reorganize the struggle against the enemy's psychological warfare, especially in big cities.

The effectiveness of ideological work depends primarily on the leadership of party organizations. Our party is a party in power with a system of organs engaged in ideological work with material means which, though not yet sophisticated, has increased considerably compared to the past; we have nearly 2 million party members and over 100,000 party cells, and yet why has the ideological task not produced results to match the requirements, and why is the ideological front being left vacant?

In many places, an important cause is that many of the party organizations have not really exercised or do not know how to exercise their leadership on the ideological front, while many comrades assigned to important positions in various state organs have failed to do propaganda and education work. To control the ideological front, party committees at all levels must know the hearts and minds of the people well, work out plans for ideological work, know how to organize, foster, and use various party organs, cadres, and members engaged in the ideological work and turn them into a powerful army with high combativeness.

Ideological work must be renovated in content and form, organization and method, people and means. The quality of party life must be heightened in all its organizations, from the central level to the cell. The effectiveness of meetings must be manifested in two aspects: working out guiding policies and measures to solve different tasks, and helping participants in meetings grasp the party's viewpoints and receive new information, experience, and knowledge, thus enhancing their sense of responsibility. Meetings of the party's committees and primary organizations marked by their rich contents are the prime condition for ideological work to be carried out effectively.

Party organizations must form contingents of lecturers and propagandists whose revolutionary virtues and political and professional knowledge are constantly improved, and who are regularly fostered and used in the work of disseminating the party's lines and policies. The cause of delay in forming such contingents was the slighting of oral propaganda, the lack of a rich and interesting content, and the lack of necessary facilities for the lecturers.

The task of the media is to propagate the party's lines and policies, to get close to reality, give timely information and deep analysis of new events, detect and truthfully depict good typical examples, warmly support and encourage new factors, bravely struggle against backwardness and sluggishness and other negative manifestations, deal with and have a good approach to essential problems of concern to society, build healthy social public opinion, and encourage the masses to fulfill the revolutionary tasks with initiative.

The press is the voice of the party and, at the same time, the voice of the masses. As their knowledge in every field is constantly increasing, our people require of the press and other mass media that they reflect the truth, improve their quality, strengthen their mass character and combativeness, do away with simplism, monotony, superficiality, cliches, and one-way information.

There should be an improvement in the quality of publishing work at both the central and local levels to ensure that many useful books are available. We should promptly detect and take measures against violations of principles and irresponsibility that result in publishing and circulating harmful literary and artistic works. We should try to publish a number of good-quality books on politics, science, technology, and literary works with a comparatively large circulation to provide each establishment with a good library.

Party organizations must pay attention to guiding cultural, literary, and artistic work. No other ideological form can substitute for literature and art in developing healthy sentiments and exerting a deep influence on the renovation of man's thinking and way of life. Literature and art must constantly enrich themselves with the party character and the popular character, be linked with the two strategic tasks of the revolution, be keen to grasp the reality that is developing in a complicated manner, detect in time and commend the new, create vivid models, assert the germinating factors in life, and bravely criticize the negative aspects that hamper social renovation.

Truth, the ideological character, and the artistic character are invariably the criteria by which to judge the value of a work of socialist realism. The party demands that writers and artists constantly enhance their sense of responsibility as citizens and combatants and perform their noble functions to create spiritual values that foster the minds and sentiments of generations of citizens, develop their personality and character, and create an ethical environment in society. Criticism of literature and art must be promoted in a constructive, brave, and impersonal spirit whereas undue deference, deviant tendencies, and manifestations of unrefined and rude style must be done away with.

Party organizations at all levels must create favorable conditions for the work of creation and performance by cultural, literary, and artistic workers and help foster their scientific world outlook and revolutionary philosophy of life. We must set great store by the new forces emerging from the movements of creative labor and combat. It is necessary to raise the ability of managerial cadres at all levels to exercise leadership over culture, literature, and art to suit their specific features and the needs for their development; and to oppose coercive or laissez-faire practices.

All-round reform is to be carried out with regard to the work of party schools in order to improve the quality of training and fostering the contingent of leading and managerial cadres at all levels.

The system of party schools must concentrate efforts on training a contingent of successor cadres selected according to plan and regularly organizing refresher training for leading and managerial cadres currently in office. Party committee echelons must develop a cadre plan which serves as the basis for training, fostering, placing, and using cadres. The teaching staff should be renewed, textbooks rewritten, and methods of teaching and learning renovated.

The form of in-service courses of study should be expanded to enable millions of party cadres and members, youth union members, and so forth to study Marxism-Leninism in accordance with established methodology, and a communist philosophy of life, and to familiarize them with party and state lines and policies. After the sixth congress, a widespread movement of study must be launched so as to make the resolutions understood and closely link them with the process of implementing the political tasks.

It is necessary to train, foster, and renew the contingent of cadres in charge of ideological work; and to select those who have practical experience as reinforcement for the contingent of cadres engaged in propaganda and education activities. These cadres should be assigned practical work for a certain period of time on a rotation basis. Attention must be paid to meeting legitimate demands for material and technical bases needed in ideological work such as printing paper, audio-visual equipment, schooling facilities, teaching and learning equipment, and living and studying conditions for students at party schools.



[Text] 2. Renewing the contingent of cadres and perfecting leading and managerial organs:

Our party has changed a part and raised the capabilities of the contingent of cadres, but the change is still slow and the quality of the contingent of cadres does not yet meet the new requirements. Renewal of leading cadres at all levels is the most important link that our party must firmly maintain if it is to promote reforms of revolutionary significance. Having been tempered in the long process of struggle, many generations of cadres have matured, which serves as a basis for solving the problem of renewing cadres.

On the basis of defining concrete qualifications, it is necessary to systematically reevaluate cadres, to arrange and strengthen by all means the leading organs of the party and state; the managing organs of important economic, social, defense, and security sectors; and the key positions in 40 provinces, cities, and special zones, in more than 400 urban and rural districts, and in important establishments of the national economy.

Renewing the contingent of cadres means reevaluating, reselecting, and rearranging along with training and upgrading in order to have a contingent of cadres endowed with sufficient moral, leadership, and managerial qualifications and who measure up to their tasks. To renew the contingent of cadres, first of all there must be a renovation in cadre work and of those engaged in organizational and personnel work. The renewal of cadres should be carried out urgently and resolutely, but we must guard against hasty change. We should avoid renewal just for form's sake, that is, renewal based only on age groups or academic degrees. Neither should renewal be simply interpreted as a change of persons, only paying attention to new cadres while overlooking able and qualified cadres with many years of seniority.

To renew the contingent of cadres in a correct fashion, it is necessary to renovate the concept of evaluating cadres. The effectiveness of the performance of political tasks must be used as a criterion by which to judge the qualities and abilities of cadres, and the requirements of tasks must serve as a basis for placing cadres.

The task of building socialism and defending the homeland, first of all the task of building the economy, requires cadres with proper qualities and abilities. Those are cadres whose political qualities have been tested; who have always stood firm on the stand of the working class; who thoroughly understand and seriously implement the lines and policies of the party and the state; who are eager to acquire new knowledge; who are dynamic, creative, and versed in socioeconomic management; and who have a high sense of organization and discipline. These are cadres who have good revolutionary virtues and a good style of leadership, first of all a sense of collectivity and democracy, accompanied by decisiveness and a sense of responsibility, and who maintain close contact with reality and the masses, care for people, set good examples in their lifestyle, and are able to unite cadres and people and to kindle their enthusiasm in labor.

We should proceed from the common interest of the revolution and from the party's unified cadre policy to select cadres in a just and aboveboard manner. All manifestations of individualism, position-seeking, self-centeredness, parochialism, departmentalism, and bureaucratism in cadre work will badly affect the implementation

of the political tasks and the party's unity. We should overcome the practice of confining the use of cadres within a locality or a sector, while refusing to accept cadres sent in from other localities and sectors.

Renewing the contingent of cadres implies rejuvenation. On the basis of the already set criteria, there should be an increase of young cadres in leading and managerial organs along with a correct combination of aging and young cadres to enhance the fighting capacity and dynamism of the contingent of cadres and to ensure continuity in the leading organs. Only by overcoming the rather deep-rooted feudal concept of class, hierarchy, and order, can we spot and promote young and outstanding cadres.

Preparing the contingent of successors is the constant duty of various party organizations that must be carried out according to plan. All leading cadres have the duty to join the rest of the staff in selecting, training, and upgrading succeeding cadres. Elderly and experienced cadres are dutybound to support and help the succeeding cadres. Talents are not natural products; they must be spotted and painstakingly fostered. Many talents may be stifled if they are not spotted and used in the right places and at the right time. The training and upgrading of cadres must follow strict regulations. That is the combination of upgrading the knowledge gained at school with practical work. It is on the basis of the strengths, weaknesses, and the prospects of the cadres concerned that we should make bold decisions to assign them suitable positions. Then they should be constantly watched, checked on, and upgraded; and conditions must be created for them to achieve maturity. The planned rotation of cadres will contribute to the training of leading cadres who have good foresight, broad knowledge, leading skills and ability.

We must combat bureaucracy and authoritarianism in the works of selecting and placing cadres. Cadre work must be democratized by clear stipulations. This is the common work of different party and state organs, not the specific job of the organs in charge of organizational and cadre work, although the work of these organs is important.

Only when the cadre management mechanism is right can the evaluation of cadres be accurate, good cadres spotted and promoted, bad and incompetent ones replaced, and fortuitous factors, chance, and unwholesome motives in cadre work be done away with.

We should set up the job responsibility system of the party committees for the management of key cadres at different levels and in different branches, which is an important and indispensable function of the party's leading bodies. We should ensure the collective character in decision-making relating to cadres on the basis of democratically considering all opinions by the organizations and individuals concerned, together with heightening the sense of responsibility of the chief of the organization. In no case should the chief be deprived of the authority -- and especially of the responsibility -- to select his subordinates. There should be stipulations on division of labor and distribution of authority in the work of cadre management. We should define the limits of authority and responsibilities, and the relations between party organizations and state organizations, between branches and the localities, between high-level and low-level authorities; define the process of selection, evaluating, promoting, and placing cadres, thus bringing the management of cadres into regulations and good order.

3. To renovate the style of work, hold firm to the principles governing the organization and life of the party:

Democratic centralism is the cardinal principle that guides all the activities in our organization, inner-party life, and our style of work. The great organizational strength of our party lies in the full implementation of this principle. Bureaucratic centralism, paternalism, authoritarianism, disregard for opinions of the subordinates, and failure to give full play to collective wisdom will bring about erroneous decisions and weaken the unity of the party. Departmentalism and indiscipline will also badly affect party leadership and state management and render them less effective.

We must reestablish rules and regulations, strengthen discipline in the party and the state apparatus, scrupulously implement the party's lines and policies, and speak and act according to the resolutions of the superior levels and the collective. All party cadres and members must observe party discipline. All dynamism and creativity must be founded on the lines and policies. The leading organs should firmly hold their right to centralized guidance and unified management, and should not condone wrongdoing. Only when discipline within the party and in the leading state organs at various levels has been reestablished can we have sufficient strength to reestablish order in society.

No leader is allowed to stay aloof of his organization, or to give himself the right to speak and act not in accordance with decisions taken by the collective. No lower-level authority may give itself the right to disobey or contradict instructions from a superior authority, even if the former's head is a member of the Central Committee.

Collective leadership should be strengthened, democratic life expanded. Numerous important and new, complicated problems are being placed before the leading organs. Individual knowledge and experience are limited. Any subjective, authoritarian and simplistic decision will certainly lead to errors. The creative experience of the grassroots and localities must be studied and the opinions of the masses and of specialists and scientific workers must be listened to. All important options must be collectively discussed and decided upon. Leaders must listen with calm to opinions contrary to their own. All differing opinions must be expressed fully and frankly and brought under democratic discussion in order to attain the truth. Raising the quality of party committees' life is an important requirement. Necessary information should be provided so that every party committee member can fully understand the situation and be able to contribute to the process of decision-making. The method of conducting meetings should be improved in order to ensure democratic and frank discussions, with definite conclusions, if need be, reached by vote -- including secret ballot -- thus making every adopted resolution a product of the collective wisdom that everybody is obliged to carry out. Nobody is allowed to propagate and realize his own opinion that has been rejected by the majority.

Promoting criticism and self-criticism in the correct sense is a law of development of the party, a yardstick to measure the level of democracy in the inner-party life and the sense of responsibility of the party toward the people.

Communists must have the courage to look squarely at the truth. In the party, it is impossible to tolerate the practices of covering up one's shortcomings, exaggerating one's achievements, fooling one's superiors, showing undue deference for others, or bullying and seeking revenge on one's critics.

The self-criticism and criticism campaign in preparation for this congress, which was carried out relatively extensively from higher to lower levels, revealed and corrected a number of shortcomings, thus initially consolidating the people's confidence. It is necessary to make self-criticism and criticism a routine in the daily life activities of all party organizations.

Criticism and self-criticism must not be considered an opportunity for mutual attacks but a normal party activity, in which we can exchange opinions to help each other make progress and to consolidate unity and single-mindedness.

We should change our work style and stay close to realities.

Leading cadres must devote an appropriate amount of time to visiting the grass-roots level and meeting with the masses in order to study the situation, listen to the opinions of their subordinates, and solve specific issues on the spot and on time. They should go to progressive units to sum up experience as well as to places where there are difficulties and weaknesses to render assistance.

It is necessary to establish a system of rapid and precise information in the entire party. All leading organs of the party must be kept fully informed of the situation and substance of the issues under their responsibility before making decisions.

Control is a main leading function of the party and an important link in organizing the execution of decisions. It is also an effective measure to overcome bureaucratism. All organizations -- from party and state organs to mass organizations, and all fields of activity -- from economic and social activities to national defense, security, and foreign affairs -- must, without any exception, be placed under the control of the competent party organization. The party Central Committee and all party committee echelons must firmly grasp control work and use the results of this work in guiding the implementation of various resolutions. Each party committee echelon, in each period of time, must ensure a schedule for control work to be concentrated on the main tasks and important units. It is necessary to use and bring into full play the role of the Control Commission and other commissions of the party and combine the party's control activities closely with the state's inspection work and the masses' control. Control work must be conducted in a way that leads to definite conclusions and a correct settlement.

We have initially established regulations for the work of party and state organizations. It is necessary to draw upon experience to complement and complete these regulations. There should be specific stipulations and practice of some rules for inner-party work and life, first of all rules regarding meetings, control, criticism and self-criticism, and contacts with the masses.

4. Enhancing the quality of party members and struggling against negative manifestations:

Together with enhancing abilities and tempering conduct, there must be a drastic change in the work of tempering and enhancing the revolutionary qualities of party cadres and members.



Every one of us Communists must learn throughout his entire life, following the exemplary virtues and conduct of Uncle Ho, the great teacher of the Vietnamese revolution. They must bear in mind and act upon his teachings, enhance their revolutionary virtues, and combat individualism in order to prove worthy of being a leader and a loyal servant of the people.

Let us preserve and uphold the noble title of Communist Party member. Let everybody think and act for the sake of the communist ideal, for the sake of the revolution's interests instead of for the sake of position and self-interest. That ideal must find concrete expression in every party member's work, fighting, study, and life-style. Integrity, honesty, preferring action to words, matching deeds with words, looking squarely at the truth, telling the whole truth, not concealing one's shortcomings — these are qualities that must be constantly emphasized and fostered.

We must work out stipulations to prevent grandiloquence and exaggeration of achievements, mete out sanctions against those cadres and organizations who have made false reports on their wrongdoings, and adopt a severe attitude toward opportunists, self-seekers, flatterers and those who like to be flattered. All party cadres and members must respect the principle of collective leadership, and respect the people's right to mastery. Authoritarianism, overbearingness and bullying the masses must be condemned and punished.

In mind as well as in action, we must thoroughly combat corruption, abuse of privileges and prerogatives. Let every party cadre and member, with the conscience of a communist, check whether he is leading a healthy life and living by the sweat of his brow. Money-motivated thought and action, selfishness, violations of socialist property and the people's interests, stealing of public property, using public property for gift-giving, wasteful actions, and internal distribution of goods — all these must be criticized and sternly dealt with.

Educating party cadres and members and testing their qualities must follow plans of work and must find expression in the practical activities of the party Central Committee and committees at all levels of party primary organizations. Leading cadres must set a good example in their lifestyle. The higher the position, the greater the requirement for setting a good example. Nobody has the right to give himself privileges and prerogatives. All practices concerning the supply of provisions and articles for daily use which are stipulated by the branches and localities themselves and which contradict general stipulations must be abolished immediately.

Each party committee must concretely and accurately know the qualities of every cadre under its control. The cell must check and control the virtues and work style of party members, including leading cadres.

In the past 10 years, over 190,000 members have been expelled from the party, the greater proportion of them for committing errors in qualities and virtues. Some were brought to justice. Strict disciplinary sanctions have not yet been taken, and so far there are still many unqualified members in the party. The party must be purified; first of all we must immediately remove degenerate and depraved elements.

It is necessary to make public in newspapers, radio broadcasts or in meetings of party and mass organizations cases in which party cadres and members, including high-ranking cadres, were guilty of serious breaches of moral standards. By so doing, we will strengthen the people's faith in the party.

Provincial and district party committees cannot authorize their primary organizations, especially the weak ones, to do the work of selecting party members. They have to give direct guidance, first of all to those establishments which hold state property or those concerned with the political and material life of the masses. After this party congress, it is necessary to have a plan to launch a campaign to purify the party, remove manifestations of corruption in the state apparatus, and root out the negative phenomena in society. A party Central Committee session will specifically discuss the party building task.

#### 5. Raising the fighting capacity of the party primary organizations:

Executing party guidelines and policies, bringing into play the right of the masses to collective mastery, and improving the qualities of party members -- all these important tasks depend upon the fighting capacity of the party primary organizations. The recorded achievements, the exploited potentials, and valuable experience, all originate in the endeavor by the masses at the grassroots, with party primary organizations as the leading nucleus. However, the deficiencies of many party primary organizations have restricted revolutionary achievement.

Party primary organizations should get a good grasp of all activities of grass-roots units and ensure that they conform to the lines and policies of the party and state.

In localities where the one-man system of leadership is implemented, a grass-roots party organization must exercise its function as the supervisor of everybody's work, including that of leading cadres. Periodically, the party committee must work out programs of supervision and know how to organize forces and mobilize party members, specialized cadres, and the masses to participate in this work. It must also select and appoint a secretary with qualities and abilities that match those of its managerial leader.

Mass work plays an important role in all activities of a grass-roots party organization. All party chapters and their members must pay attention to providing the masses with political and ideological education and, with the exemplary act of a communist, motivating them to struggle for the fulfillment of all productive labor and combat duties.

It is necessary to create favorable conditions for the masses to participate in party building, making suggestions and criticism on the activities of party chapters, examining the qualifications of party members, detecting those who are no longer qualified as party members, and recommending outstanding persons for consideration and admission to the party. We must discuss criticism of party chapters and their members by the masses once a year at the annual meeting to sum up tasks.

Grass-roots party organizations, particularly party chapters, must pay attention to educating and tempering party members. Party chapters should carry out satisfactorily the assignment of party members and every party member should be assigned a task which he should fulfill well.

Retired party members are now on the increase and account for a high percentage among city ward and village party organizations. We must pay attention to keeping them informed of current events and policies and using them in tasks that suit their abilities and state of health.

Along with resolutely expelling from the party those unqualified members, we must recruit new members from among outstanding persons who have emerged from the mass revolutionary movement. Although our party membership is large, it is unevenly distributed. Therefore, it is necessary to continue paying attention to the recruitment of new members while proceeding with the rational regulation and distribution of party members.

It is important to ensure the membership qualifications right from the process of selecting and admitting someone to the party. As for weak and inefficient grass-roots party organizations, party committees at the higher level must closely guide these party organizations in consolidating themselves before new party members are recruited.

Since the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is the party's reserve force, it is necessary for all party organizations to pay attention to educating and tempering youth union members to help each of them live and work in line with the union's ideal. It is the union which is the source for recruiting new party members.

We should pay attention to increasing the percentage of workers, women, and the people of various ethnic minority groups in recruiting new party members as well as in training cadres.

#### 6. Strengthening unity and single-mindedness in the party:

Our party has a fine tradition of unity and single-mindedness. In the course of the revolution, through thick and thin and at the turning points of history, our party has always been a bloc of solidarity in terms of ideology and action. Thanks to this, it has been able to unite broad masses of the people and lead the revolution to glorious victories.

While laying stress on the party's unity and oneness of mind as its essence, we should not underestimate the impact exerted by a number of negative factors. There is lack of consensus on a few viewpoints and lack of coordination in the work style and relationship among a number of leading cadres at various levels. Parochialism and departmentalism are rampant. Owing to the characteristics of our revolutionary struggle, the formation and growth of the contingent of cadres in different parts and regions present some discrepancies. As a result, they have some difficulty in fully understanding one another. The enemy and bad elements have made use of this state of affairs to instigate the people and sow division.

It is always a matter of vital interest for the revolution to strengthen the political, ideological, and organizational unity and oneness of mind based on Marxism-Leninism, on our party's policies, viewpoints, and organizational principle.

Party unity is not for form's sake; it must be built on the basis of the struggle to defend the party lines and viewpoints; unity does not mean absence of different opinions. Consensus can only be reached through exchange of opinions and discussions. If our views still differ, realities will clarify them and will help us reach a higher degree of consensus. But in party life, we must abide by the principle of democratic centralism, collective leadership, and individual responsibility: submission of the minority to the majority, of the individual to the organization, of the lower level to the higher one, and of the whole party to the Central Committee.

We should pay attention to preserving the unity in the party's leading organs, which is the way to strengthen the unity of the whole party. Our party is determined to do its

utmost to preserve and bring into full play the party's tradition of unity and to put into practice the teaching by President Ho Chi Minh: "Unity is an extremely precious tradition of our party and people. Our comrades, from the Central Committee down to the party chapters, must preserve the party unity and oneness of mind as they do the apple of their eye."

Dear comrades: The Sixth CPV Congress marks an important renovation of the party in its political, ideological, and organizational leadership, and that has a great significance in further strengthening our party's unity.

In the immediate future we face numerous difficulties, but our party and people have the necessary conditions to overcome them and to continuously advance our glorious revolutionary cause.

Our party is a contingent of fighters who are politically mature and are acquiring new experience.

Ours is a revolutionary people. They have had close ties with the party in our long struggle, and defeated all manner of forces of aggression for national liberation and reunification. It is the precious tradition of our party and people, in the face of difficulties and trials, to further unite as one, and bravely fight for national independence and freedom, and for the lofty ideals of communism.

In 1999, we will commemorate the 60th anniversary of the founding of the CPV, the 45th National Day of the SRV, and the 100th anniversary of the great President Ho Chi Minh's birthday. Our entire party, people, and armed forces should direct their action toward those days continue to put into practice his testament by launching a movement of vigorous and effective revolutionary action and striving to emulate in fulfilling the 5-year 1986-90 plan.

All for the socialist homeland and for the happiness of the people!

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ECONOMIC REPORT BY VO VAN KIET

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[Economic report of the CPV Central Committee at the Sixth National CPV Congress]

[Text] Dear comrades, the Sixth CPV Congress marks a new and important change in all aspects of the party leadership of the process of socialist construction in our country. In the economic field there will be improvements in the economic and investment structure and renovation in economic policies and the management system aimed at exploiting all the nation's potentials, resolving labor capabilities, quickly increasing social product, fulfilling plan norms on stabilizing the socioeconomic situation, and improving and stabilizing the people's daily life.

The party Central Committee's political report has appraised the achievements scored during the past 5 years, reviewed weaknesses, analyzed errors and shortcomings, and set forth socioeconomic targets and tasks for the remaining years of the initial stage of the transition toward socialism. This report will present the main orientations and targets for socioeconomic development for the 1986-90 5-year period to supervise the formulation of the 1986-90 plans.

Upon entering this 5-year period, along with important achievements in developing production and building material and technical bases, our nation's socioeconomic situation faces great difficulties. In many respects, production has increased, but it was too slow compared with our demands and real capability. A number of important targets in the 5-year 1981-85 plan have not been fulfilled. The production and investment results were very poor: Millions of workers were unemployed: natural resources were not satisfactorily exploited: machinery and equipment capacity was utilized at a low rate; distribution and circulation problems were prevalent; social property was seriously violated; while great imbalances in the economic field were not reduced -- some became even more acute. The daily lives of workers, cadres, and the people experienced numerous difficulties, while negative phenomena in society indicated serious adverse effects.

There have been new positive factors in coping with these difficulties. Thanks to the experiment and research of some sectors, localities, and grass-roots units, effective production and business models have been established to exploit capabilities to develop production and overcome difficulties in the people's daily life. When integrated, these models will become concrete measures for the new work method. The background of the majority of cadres in realizing and applying the party positions and policies to carrying out tasks practically has been clearly enhanced, especially through the establishment of developing models, distribution of the labor force, and formulation of

a general plan in the districts. Through these tasks, we understand more clearly our nation's potentials, thus we are able to initially formulate orientations to exploit these potentials in the days ahead. Hundreds of large projects and many medium and small ones have been built during the past period. Although some of them were inappropriate in some respects, they are the material and technical bases of a very significant nature. Contingents of skilled workers and scientific and technical cadres have been trained in large numbers. Many results of the scientific and technological research have been concluded. These are valuable conclusions helping us to solve various immediate socioeconomic tasks.

One of the most favorable factors is that we have always received great, heartfelt, and effective cooperation and assistance from the Soviet Union and other fraternal countries in the socialist community. This cooperation and assistance will be increasingly expanded in scale in the next 5 years and subsequent years.

Various new socioeconomic viewpoints and objectives set forth by this party congress will chart a path for our national economy to overcome immediate difficulties and firmly advance.

Facing great and urgent requirements of the economic reformation and development and the peoples' daily life, our party must surge forward to meet these requirements and tasks, unify our thinking and actions, and make new efforts and initiatives. We must, on the one hand, realize various favorable factors to develop optimally various tasks; on the other hand, we must realize numerous difficulties in the years ahead to set forth appropriate positions and measures to formulate our positive and firm steps to advance. Many potentials of our countries have not been exploited. This is obvious, yet to exploit these potentials we must -- besides correctly formulating economic developing projects and objectives and renovating management system and organization -- have capital, raw materials, and energy sources which are very scarce both at present and in the future. Moreover, the recent efforts to overcome errors in the management mechanism and build new and uniform management systems are all very urgent tasks, but they need more time and energy. We must also realize this fact.

Dear comrades,

The political report has set forth the general and main socioeconomic tasks and targets for the remaining years of the initial stage which are to produce sufficient consumer goods while accumulating some capital to initially create a rational economic structure aimed at developing production and construction and perfecting the new production relations a step further in line with the characteristics and developmental level of the production forces, to create good changes in the social field, and to ensure the fulfillment of the requirements of consolidating national defense and security. All of these are aimed at comprehensively stabilizing the socioeconomic situation and continually building the necessary foundations for accelerating socialist industrialization in the following stage.

To achieve these targets, we must uniformly link all three aspects -- arrangement, transformation, and development -- with specific contents that suit the characteristics of every sector, every locality, and every grass-roots unit. Thus, stabilization does not mean restricting various economic activities but a process of moving forward to develop and regulate the proportional relations of the national economy.

At present, the greatest problem is to arrange and reorganize the structure and steps of the economy in conformity with the guidelines and objectives of the years ahead,

with the realistic capability of our country, and with the international labor and cooperation division in order to warrant the economic development at a quick, stabilized, and steady pace. In the years ahead, we will really consider agriculture the foremost battlefield, and strenuously accelerate the production of consumer and export goods. The primary and main orientation for heavy industry in this step is to support agriculture and light industry on a proper scale and at an appropriate technical level.

In this direction, it is necessary to rearrange the existing production installations, extensively adjust the investment structure, rationally organize the relations between accumulation and consumption, vigorously step up socialist transformation, and correctly employ the various economic elements, among which the national economy will hold the leading role in exploiting all potentials to develop production -- especially the agricultural, forestry, fishery, handicrafts and artisan industry production -- and to develop service operations.

We affirm an extremely important factor of economic growth: to broadly apply scientific and technical achievements, especially the achievements in biology, seed breeding, industrial renovation, and the application of technological progress in order to save energy and raw materials, create new materials and products from domestically available materials, and enhance the quality of products.

Thrift is an important policy. It must be practiced in all the activities of production, construction, and social consumption. We must oppose luxury, waste, ostentation, and formalism in the state machinery at all levels and in cooperatives.

We must uphold a simple and healthy lifestyle, use locally produced goods, and pursue a preference for consumer goods beyond the capacity of the economy.

In order to remove the difficulties and create a new motivating force, we must renovate the economy management system with the main scope of eliminating bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, modify the policies of economic leverage, form a planning system along the line of socialist accounting and business, establish order and discipline, correctly implement the principle of democratic centralization with the decisive task of correctly placing cadres, perfect the management apparatus, and renovate work behavior and methods in line with the requirement of renovating the economic structure and management system.

Along with transforming and developing the economy, we must positively, resolutely, and persistently carry out activities to develop society, build a new culture and new men, oppose negative phenomena -- especially corruption, bribery, speculation -- and establish social justice.

While performing the socioeconomic tasks, we always emphasize the need to fulfill the requirements of consolidating national defense and security, first of all the everyday requirements of livelihood and other activities of the Armed Forces; better organize the production activities; build the Army's economy; help build the material and technical bases for national defense and the economy; warrant the fulfillment of part of the Armed Forces' requirements; and produce additional commodities for domestic use and export.

Following are some of the main guidelines and objectives:

I. The first one concerns the three major programs for grain and food products, consumer and export goods.

Dear comrades,

The political report put forth the three major economic programs for grain and food products, consumer goods, and export products. These three programs are closely correlated and interrelated. Grain, food products, and consumer goods are the most important material conditions for stabilizing the socioeconomic situation and the people's livelihood. Export is a decisive factor in implementing these two programs and other economic activities. These three major programs constitute the core of the socioeconomic tasks for the 5-year period, 1986-90. They are not only of vital significance to the immediate situation but also the primary essential conditions for proceeding with the socialist industrialization in the following stage. In order to implement these three programs, it is necessary to mobilize and highly concentrate all the potentials of the national economy. The heavy industrial and communications and transportation sectors and other economic, cultural, and social sectors, as well as all localities, must first of all concentrate all material forces and guidance on these three programs, and must resolutely suspend and postpone all other needs that are not really pressing. Supporting these three programs and ensuring their success means creating favorable conditions for the long-term development of all sectors and localities throughout the country.

#### 1. Grain and Food Products.

In the present stage in our country, tropical agriculture has great potential and occupies an extremely important position. For this reason, we must liberate production energy, primarily the energy of tens of millions of workers with millions of hectares of land for tropical agriculture.

In recent years, agriculture in our country has undergone new changes, scored some important achievements especially in grain production, and created some specialized cultivation areas of industrial crops. However, the volume of grain production has not increased uniformly nor steadily; the area of industrial crops, especially short-term crops, has increased slowly; the development of agriculture, forestry, and fishery has not been linked with the processing industry; and labor, land, forests, and seas have not been used satisfactorily. This is because the comprehensive knowledge of agriculture in which grain and food products constitute the number one center has not been thoroughly understood. The problems of investment and incentive policies to stimulate agricultural development have not been dealt with satisfactorily. We now have about 2 million hectares of idle agricultural land and the rate of land use is still low. Some 8 million hectares of bare hillside have not been covered with greenery; hundreds of thousands of hectares of water surface with a great capacity for raising fish, together with large sea zones of great economic potential and many important fishing areas, have not been tapped properly; and millions of workers in various trades and jobs have not been fully employed.



In the 1986-90 5-year period, we will focus on the primary objective, that is, to produce grain and food products. At the same time, we will strive to develop the planting of industrial crops, especially short-term industrial crops, in close connection with the uniform building of the processing industry; vigorously develop various trades; and link labor to land, forests, and seas in order to exploit these potentials to the greatest extent.

Our duty is to achieve the objective of fulfilling the food demands of the entire society, and to create some reserves. The food problem must be resolved comprehensively from production and processing to distribution and consumption, in an attempt to link the grain crop allocation pattern with efforts to improve the daily diet and its quality in a manner compatible with the characteristics of each particular area. We must rely on the most rational exploitation of each locality's strengths, as well as those of the lowlands, midlands, and mountain and coastal regions in order to increase grain production locally while generating other sources of goods with which to exchange for grain, including export-import activities. Along with the effort to resolve the food problem, we must vigorously reduce the rate of population growth.

We must strive to produce by 1990 22-23 million metric tons of grain (equivalent to rice), an average annual grain production of 20-20.5 metric tons in the next 5 years and an average increase of 3-3.5 metric tons compared with the past 5 years.

The main orientation for rice production is to practice intensive cultivation and multicropping and to expand cultivation areas in localities where conditions permit. (However, care must be taken not to destroy forests.) The fact that productivity is not balanced among the various zones and even within a locality shows that the potential for intensive cultivation is still very great. Slowness in land rotation shows the importance, urgency, and effectiveness of multicropping. In the years to come, we must concentrate our material means on serving key areas of grain and goods. The Mekong River Delta is the country's largest area of rice and goods and the Red River Delta is the north's major rice area. These areas are of decisive importance when it comes to meeting the needs of the localities concerned. Other regions also have their own major rice areas.

While placing emphasis on rice planting, we absolutely must not belittle subsidiary food crops. In recent years, the area and production volume of subsidiary food crops have decreased. This is a shortcoming to be overcome. Depending on specific conditions, each region must establish an appropriate subsidiary food crop pattern for corn, sweet potato, cassava, potato, and other starchy crops, with the emphasis placed on corn. Along with developing production, we must organize the procurement and processing of subsidiary food crops, trying to widely introduce subsidiary food crop products into the daily diet.

To achieve these objectives, we must apply a series of uniform measures. First of all, we must mention land. We have depleted hundreds of thousands of good ricefields, and this situation cannot continue. We must perfect plans to correctly use and manage land, especially at the grass-roots level and as far as ricefields are concerned. Measures to increase the fertility of soil and the rate of land use must be stressed, especially in the Mekong River Delta.

Water conservation is a primary objective. It must be made a broad mass movement in combination with proper state investment. In these 5 years we must complete all water conservation projects in a coordinated manner, concentrate on those projects of immediate use, and particularly develop small water conservation projects so as to

bring into full play the output of large- and medium-sized projects already built. A certain number of new projects must be built to immediately support multicropping, crop rotation, and the reclamation of virgin land to expand the cultivated area. In the northern delta, attention must be paid to the consolidation of the system of protective and supporting dikes and sluices; the maintenance and development of electric water pumping stations; and the lessening of the usually flooded area of 10th-month rice. In the Mekong Delta, besides the key projects, we should consolidate and develop the irrigation network within ricefields. We should expand the irrigated and drained areas, especially in high-yield rice areas. The task of flood and typhoon control should be emphasized to limit damage and protect the people's life and property.

Of the integrated measures to be taken in the coming years, fertilizer stands out as a decisive factor to ensure productivity and intensive cultivation; and it is a demanding requirement which must be met with concentrated efforts. Policies should be adopted to promote the movement to produce stable and green manure and other types of organic manure so as to meet a considerable part of the demand for fertilizer. The production of potash, lime, and phosphorite must be expanded. Foreign currency should be reserved for importing adequate fertilizer. Using advanced technical methods to improve efficiency in fertilizer application is a practical approach that must be broadly promoted.

In past years, harmful insects and diseases have caused no small losses to agricultural production. It is a regular duty of the organs in charge of agriculture and the peasants to satisfactorily forecast and detect the appearance of harmful insects and diseases and to actively take comprehensive prevention and control measures, combining biological with chemical methods. It is necessary to satisfactorily organize crop insurance services in each area; and priority must be given to the timely importation of adequate insecticides.

The shortage of draft power that has necessitated even the use of manpower for land-tilling purposes, is now posing a pressing problem that must be resolved, especially in areas where multicropping and area expansion are being practiced. First of all, we must encourage the development of draft cattle breeding and expand the exchanges of water buffalo and oxen to regulate the availability of draft power among various regions. At the same time, efforts should be made to produce and import more tractors; and, most importantly, to immediately improve the organization and mechanism for the use of tractors and make rational readjustments so as to fully tap their capacity. It is necessary to sell small tractors to agricultural cooperatives and production collectives along with training tractor mechanics and providing them with spare parts for repair. We must definitely put an end to the shortage of ordinary and improved tools of good quality needed by agricultural laborers.

Realities in many areas show that the seed allocation pattern and new varieties of seed, coupled with a rational crop season layout, greatly contribute toward improving crop yields and the stability of crop cultivation. The problem is that we must organize at all costs a system of seed breeding from the central to grass-roots level and devise policies aimed at encouraging cooperatives to rapidly multiply the new varieties of seed that have been recommended for use in each area.

In order to reduce the damage and losses to grain that are still occurring at a serious rate, maintain quality, and increase product value, we must pay attention to building an integrated maintenance and processing network and organizing the prompt transportation of grain.

Together with meeting the material and technical conditions mentioned above, we must apply a system of policies that truly provides incentives to grain producers. It is necessary to readjust the material supply and support service system, provide timely and effective services to cooperatives and producers, and do away with all inconveniences and the loss of state supplies. We must perfect the system of giving out end-product contracts to labor groups and laborers by providing the necessary supplies and setting rational contract quotas so that producers will be encouraged to accept contracts and make additional investments of their own in order to exceed contract quotas. Exemption from agricultural taxes should be granted for a certain period to those localities carrying out multicropping or expanding areas under cultivation. Except for the tax obligation, all economic relations between the state and the cooperatives must be governed by buy-sell contracts concluded with state-run business organizations in accordance with the principle of equality and equal prices. Apart from those contracts with supplies put up as collateral, buying and selling activities should be carried out at truly agreed-upon prices.

To enhance the daily diet qualitatively and improve the meal composition gradually, food production must be given equal attention with grain production. We have great potential to develop comprehensively various abundant and diversified sources of food deriving from animals and plants in all parts of the country. First of all, we must vigorously promote livestock breeding and increase significantly the numbers of cattle and poultry, with attention given to animals that consume no or little grain. We must do our best to promote livestock breeding in the family sector and restore and develop it in the state-run and collectivized sectors wherever conditions permit. To do so it is necessary to resolve satisfactorily the issues concerning breeders, feed, and epizootic prevention and control, on which the state assumes close guidance, with attention given to increasing the sources of feed for livestock through processing. The policy of creating breeders for animal husbandry must also be given appropriate attention and encouragement, such as the creation of seed for grain production.

Vegetables and beans of all sorts, oleagineous plants, and fruit trees constitute sources of food that can be developed anywhere. Around cities and industrial centers, especially Hanoi, Ho Chi Minh City, and the Quang Ninh mining area, it is necessary to concentrate on making uniform investments so as to quickly set up a food belt while encouraging various localities, cooperatives, production collectives, and private producers to bring their vegetables, fruits, meat, and fish to the cities for sale. State farms, state forests, and Army units must all organize livestock breeding and plant food crops in all forms in order to meet their own demands in part or in full.

Maritime products are an important source of food for meeting consumption demand, and also a great and very valuable source of export. This is a great latent potential and also a realistic possibility. Those localities with water surfaces must organize the raising of fish, shrimps, and other marine products in combination with the raising of livestock and poultry, broadly applying the pattern of "garden, pond, and stable." We must particularly invest in strenuously developing shrimp raising. We should rationally arrange the fishery workforce, encourage the people to develop the raising and catching of marine products and to expand the coastal trade and jobs. The state should invest more in repairing facilities, restoring trawlers and equipment, and building piers, wharves, and rear service installations. The fishing zone of our country's southwestern waters is of great significance to the economy, national defense, and security. The central government is dutybound to invest in organizing the integration of localities in catching and raising marine products, while simultaneously instituting regulations to protect marine resources in the zone. State-run installations must properly perform the duties of providing technical guidance and



leadership for shifting the fishing zone depending on the season, and organizing the procurement, preservation, and processing of marine products. We must secure sufficient grain and essential consumer goods for fishermen and fix rational purchasing prices so as to encourage workers to produce and to end competition in purchasing and selling marine products.

The grain and food program cannot be separated from the development of agriculture. Apart from the above-mentioned crops and livestock in direct support of the food demands, we must encourage the vigorous development of the planting of industrial crops and afforestation to exploit the great potential of tropical agriculture in accordance with the strong points of each region. This is aimed at creating sources of products and goods in exchange for grain to overcome the closed-door tendency of solving the grain problem, as well as sources of raw materials in support of the processing industry and, in particular, the effort to rapidly increase the quantities of valuable products for export. The development of the industrial crop area, preservation of forest resources, and afforestation are also tasks that can attract large numbers of laborers, thus solving the problem of employment in accordance with the present conditions in our country.

In the years to come, through renovating the various policies concerning procurement, prices, the investment mechanism, and the supply of materials and grain, we should give priority to the development of short-term industrial crops, focusing on such crops as peanut, soybean, sugarcane, tobacco, hemp, and rush.

Attention must be paid to investment in the specialized cultivation areas, including credits to cooperatives and household economy; and to expanding the growing of supplementary and cash crops in the area of long-term crops where the capacity is still very large. We still have much land for growing long-term industrial crops, especially valuable ones such as coffee, tea, rubber, coconut, and pepper. This is an issue that can absorb much labor and expand international cooperation. In state-run installations, investment must be made primarily in the intensive cultivation of crops in existing areas in order to quickly increase the yield. As regards newly planted crops, the quality and volume of final products must serve as a struggle objective to carry out intensive cultivation gradually as the crops are planted. We should overcome the tendency of wanting larger areas. At a time when our capital is still limited, we must create capital through the general business procedures of using "short-term crops to cultivate long-term ones" and achieve the integration of state-run, collective, family, individual, and private elements in order to fully use labor and land, and to encourage families to grow valuable crops.

Forests are being continually destroyed. The rate of shade, which has decreased to its lowest level, is a cause for great concern. Consequently, the greatest issue at present is to develop and preserve the existing forest resources and constantly augment them. We must immediately adopt comprehensive measures to put an end to the destruction of forests and to forest fires. It is necessary to carry out the division of labor and decentralization of management to ensure that responsible persons are assigned to all forests for protection and reforestation purposes and that they are given an income commensurate with their work. Attention must be paid to the settlement of nomads so as to help those nomadic compatriots adopt a settled life and participate actively in the preservation of forests and afforestation. Proper investment should be made in the maintenance and protection of forests and the planting of high altitude and watershed forests, especially with trees used for paper pulp, pit props, and firewood. Forest land must be allocated to cooperatives, families, and economic units for tree planting as planned along with the formulation of satisfactory policies on benefits. A broad movement should be launched to cover bare hills with greenery, to plant trees in



cities and the countryside, and along the coast, and to plant trees for firewood, combining forestry with agriculture in order to develop and diversify the economy in various regions. It is an especially important duty for the Army to plant and protect forests to meet the demand for timber and firewood.

In these 5 years, there must be plans to develop and transform part of the natural forests into economic forests and secure technical means for meeting the requirements of timber exploitation. In exploitation, we should uphold discipline and correctly observe technical regulations, taking into consideration the need for ecological balance and environmental protection. The state will unify the managerial control of lumber and the processing of timber and develop processing installations in forests in order to fully use all the tree branches and twigs which are being wasted.

## 2. Consumer goods.

Developing the production of consumer goods is a major program with a pressing significance not only in the immediate future but also in the long and fundamental term. This is aimed at ensuring the daily needs of the people, along with grain and food, and the regeneration of the labor force, as well as attracting millions of laborers to solve the problem of employment for the people and, on that basis, create sources of accumulation and an important source of export.

In the past 5 years, the production of consumer goods has developed only slowly, many types of common goods are still scarce, and the decrease in the quality of consumer goods has resulted in a serious waste of supplies and caused legitimate indignation among the people. Meanwhile, many potentials have not yet been exploited, especially the small industry and handicrafts forces and sources of domestically available raw materials. In the coming period, we must, by all means, bring into play these enormous capabilities in order to step up the production of consumer goods among various sectors and economic components under any organizational form, on any scale, and at any technical level. We must ensure that different types of consumer goods are produced to meet the diverse needs of society and suit each region and age group. We cannot allow a shortage of ordinary consumer goods. Output must be increased along with the improvement of quality and efforts must constantly be made to change and ensure the technical and aesthetic pattern of products. Priority must be given to securing material conditions for fully tapping the capacity of the existing enterprises, especially large ones with high productivity and efficiency. Regarding production establishments that were built many years ago and whose machinery and equipment are too old and out of order, it is necessary to renovate gradually their technology so as to meet the requirements concerning product quantity, variety, and quality. Through sales or credit loans, the small industry and handicraft sectors should be equipped with additional machinery and equipment. Investment should be concentrated in Ho Chi Minh City and Hanoi Municipality, the country's key centers for the production of consumer goods. Haiphong, Danang, and some other cities also have strong positions that should be developed.

To develop consumer goods production the decisive thing is raw material and the policy concerning it. The main orientation is to fully exploit all available sources of raw materials in the country while reserving foreign currency on a priority basis for importing raw materials needed. Concerning raw materials to be obtained from agriculture, we should ensure that there is sufficient area devoted to specialized crop cultivation to serve processing plants and that close and direct association is

established between factories and raw material production areas by means of economic contracts in which the legitimate interests of both sides are guaranteed. Purchasing prices should be revised along the lines of providing incentives for raw material producers, with due incentives given to producers of high quality raw materials. Regarding raw materials to be extracted from minerals, we should increase investments and carry out a rational division of labor and responsibilities to promote exploitation of mines, especially small ones. At the same time, we should develop establishments producing common chemicals.

We should realize that the force of small industry and handicrafts is currently producing about one half of the amount of consumer goods and that it still has considerable potential for attracting millions of laborers. It is necessary to abolish immediately those policies and procedures constraining this force, which comprises cooperatives, production teams, and household, individual, and private economies. First of all, we should set aside an adequate amount of raw materials and energy for small industry and handicrafts, satisfactorily organize their delivery to production establishments, and strongly shift to the formula of selling raw materials and buying products according to contracts. Prices of products made under contract should be revised to really provide incentives for producers, raise the quality of products, and encourage the production of new kinds of goods. Producers should be assured of food supplies and tax policies concerning small industry, and handicrafts should be improved along the line of creating incentives for branches and trades that need to be developed. Special incentives and all conditions should be created for developing traditional handicrafts and fine art trades, utilize and treat craftsmen well, and at the same time train and foster successors so as not to allow the branches and trades that have existed for ages among the people to sink into oblivion.

Along with developing production, we should adopt a policy for rational and economical consumption. On the one hand, we should actively expand the production of consumer goods with ever higher quality and aesthetic standards to suit the demands and developmental trend of social consumption. On the other hand, our people, in particular party cadres and members, should voluntarily use locally produced goods, considering this as a major policy of our party and state. This is aimed at encouraging and protecting production while promoting consumption habits suited to the real capabilities of our national economy at present.

With these orientations, in the next 5 years we should raise the average annual rate of increase of consumer goods production 13-15 percent. We should attach special importance to stepping up cloth production while ensuring that production of other textile products is maintained at the necessary level. We should quickly increase paper output to ensure sufficient supplies of writing paper and textbook printing paper. Production of medicines for treatment of common illnesses should be increased; market control strengthened; and production of fake medicines severely punished. Along with ensuring sufficient raw materials for state-run sugar refineries, whenever conditions permit, all cooperatives and districts should grow sugarcane and develop small-scale refineries to satisfy their local demands for various kinds of sugar and molasses. Production of tea, vegetables, canned fruits, beer, various kinds of soft drinks should be rationally organized, using both modern and manual means, to create large amounts of high quality goods to meet domestic demand and for export. Regarding cigarettes in particular, first of all we must provide the central state-run factories with sufficient raw materials so that they may fully exploit their capacity. We should rearrange all production establishments and overcome their current state of indiscriminate development. In food production, we must strictly control quality and hygienic standards.

Production of consumer goods made of metal such as bicycles, electric fans, sewing machines, and watches and the assembly of radio and television sets...should be organized and expanded and the quality of these products should be raised. Soap and detergents are indispensable consumer goods; therefore, we should ensure sufficient raw materials for their production and strictly control quality.

### 3. Exports.

Exports are a spearhead of decisive significance to many economic targets in the next 5 years and also an important part of the entire process of external economic relations. Export must become a primary concern to all of us in all sectors and at all echelons. In the future we must achieve a major change worthy of its importance and realistic potential. The task is to quickly increase the volume of exports to meet the requirements of import and to overcome the ineffective method of working and the situation of dispersion and confusion which cause losses in the markets both at home and abroad. In these 5 years, export levels must be elevated by approximately 70 percent over that of the previous 5-year period with emphasis on such major items as agricultural products, processed farm products; light industrial, handicrafts and artisan industry, and marine products. We should not think that the above export levels, though determined as the minimum and irreducible, can be reached easily. For this reason, active and effective measures should be applied by all means to achieve this objective.

First, we should formulate a long-term program and a specific plan for the production of export goods for each period. On this basis, we must invest appropriately in and ensure necessary material supplies for production and pay attention to concentrated production areas and major products. We must have appropriate incentives for those directly engaged in the production of export goods, such as supplying them with sufficient grain and other essential consumer goods, offering them reasonable prices, and commending and rewarding them for fulfilling or exceeding the plan set for the delivery of export goods, and especially for improving the quality of these goods. Uniform prices must be applied for both goods for domestic consumption and for export and must be determined by their quality. In the immediate future, we should revise at once and promptly readjust the prices of goods delivered for export to ensure the interests of those producers and localities that have tried very hard to deliver export goods to the central government.

To overcome the state of competition in buying and selling and to establish order and discipline in the area of foreign trade, we should reorganize import-export in a rational manner, especially regarding important kinds of goods and groups of goods. We must reduce the number of intermediary links and eliminate authoritarianism, arbitrariness, and violations of the interests of those directly engaged in the production of export goods. Export goods production establishments must be provided with timely information about the market and prices and allowed to contact consumers so as to improve their products in time and enhance the looks and quality of goods to satisfy consumers' requests.

We welcome the establishment of direct relations between foreign economic organizations and Vietnamese economic organizations to broaden the scale of cooperation which satisfies the interests of both sides and is in line with our state laws and policies.

Along with stepping up exports, we must pay utmost attention to and create all favorable conditions for the expansion of various activities to collect foreign



currency, such as tourism, foreign currency exchanges, providing seagoing ships and air travel services. We must eliminate all inconvenient procedures, regulations, and formalities currently obstructing and restricting these activities.

Another direction to follow is to further broaden labor cooperation with foreign countries, especially to organize large-scale production of export goods under contract in the country. At the same time, we can expand the sending of laborers to foreign countries under many appropriate forms, considering this as an integral part of the general labor program of the entire society as well as of each sector and locality. To fulfill this task and to ensure results not only in the economic but also in the social field, we should radically revamp current activities, from the selection of laborers in the country and the organization of their management in foreign countries to the utilization of these laborers after they return from overseas. A task of decisive significance is the organization of the managerial apparatus and the contingent of managerial cadres, especially cadres in charge of laborers working abroad. We must eliminate negativism in this domain, especially among managerial cadres. Concerning those brothers and sisters working overseas, along with efforts to ensure their legitimate interests, we should educate them in their obligation toward and responsibility for national construction.

In these 5 years, import work must be carried out in such a way as to create favorable conditions for fully implementing the three major economic programs and more satisfactorily exploiting our potentials in terms of manpower and land and the capacity of our existing equipment. Faced with substantial demands for imports, we must step up exports in both the socialist and capitalist sectors and must first ensure all our international commitments.

In using foreign currency earmarked from exports, we must first reserve a necessary portion of the foreign currency for reinvesting in production in order to make up for production expenses and to renew the cycle of export production. This will make it possible for us to import more essential materials to meet the general demands of the entire country and to settle those debts which are due.

We must consider promulgating export-import taxes if we are to show our policy toward various kinds of goods and establish order and discipline in the field of foreign trade.

All external economic relations must truly help promote an ever-closer link between our country and the socialist community, especially the Soviet Union, and demonstrate ever more clearly our country's participation in the process of the international division of labor and socialist economic integration to expand the scope of the exchange of goods and, at the same time, step up the division of labor and cooperation in production. In these 5 years, we must at all cost institute a long-term program of cooperation with all CEMA member countries to actively gain additional cooperation and assistance from the fraternal countries and increase the efficiency of external economic relations.

In the entire system of economic relations with foreign countries, we should always firmly grasp the fundamental guidelines of constantly expanding the comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union in all domains and in many diversified forms. Under any circumstance, we must ensure that all export commitments are adequately fulfilled. It is also necessary to establish and consolidate a long-term link not only at the central level but also among all sectors, production units, and localities.



We must pay special attention to developing economic and cultural relations and cooperation between our country and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia aimed at exploiting the capabilities of each country for mutual replenishment, thus making it possible for each country and the entire three countries to undergo further development and become ever stronger. Based on the objectives and strategy of each party, we must coordinate in instituting various programs for economic, cultural, scientific, and technical cooperation to work toward establishing economic integration under a common strategy. Economic cooperation among the three countries must follow the principles of voluntariness, equality, mutual benefit, and preferential rights and favor for one another. There must be proper policies and procedures to warrant realistic results.

In these 5 years, we must realize cooperation in planning between the three countries while emphasizing such domains as agricultural, forestry, and fishery production; consumer and export goods manufacturing; and communications and transportation development. Simultaneously, we must continue to help our friends with capital survey work, with the training of cadres, with the exchange of experts, and so forth.

While basing the economic strategy of foreign trade on attachment to the socialist community — first of all to the Soviet Union — we must struggle to secure increasingly dynamic relations in the economic and technological fields with other regions in the world. Besides export-import activities with new policies and systems, the relations of cooperation will be expanded to many developing countries and to some countries or private organizations in the capitalist world. The economic and technological contributions of overseas Vietnamese are an important and realistic factor that reflects the compatriots' attachment to their country. It is necessary to amend irrational systems and policies to give the compatriots real conditions to participate actively in national construction.

Satisfactorily carrying out what has been mentioned above amounts to making active preparations for, in the ensuing plans, broadening and further increasing the efficiency of international cooperation. This will make it possible for our country to be involved further in the process of socialist labor division and economic integration in the direction of exploiting to the fullest our country's latent potentials together with the assistance provided by fraternal and friendly countries in terms of capital and technology so as to accelerate socialist industrialization in our country and increase the strength of the entire socialist community.

In order to carry out successfully all party policies on external economic relations, we must be profoundly aware that providing good work and exploiting to the fullest all of our country's potentials constitute the premises and also decisive conditions for broadening economic relations with foreign countries. We must resort to all possible means to improve production and business activities and develop the characteristics of dynamism and sensitivity in order to promptly meet the ever-increasing demands of the foreign markets regarding quantity and quality of goods and to meet conditions regarding deadlines and prices for the goods exchanged. It should be emphasized here that as the full implementation of all the international commitments is the responsibility and also the honor of our state, all sectors, echelons, and exports producers are dutybound to ensure this job. Only in this way can we firmly maintain our international credibility and have more conditions for broadening our economic relations with foreign countries.

## II. Heavy Industry and Infrastructure

To implement these three major economic programs to create conditions for vigorously accelerating socialist industrialization in the subsequent stage, we should develop a number of heavy industrial sectors and necessary infrastructures suitable to our capabilities in the immediate future. These are energy, some engineering establishments, raw and other materials, communications and transportation, postal communications, and minimum material and technical bases in the first stage of the period of transition to socialism. Consequently, we should all along combine agriculture closely with industry — both light and heavy industry — in order to form a rational economic structure step by step. In such a way, we overcome the shortcoming of separating industry from agriculture, orient heavy industry toward practically and effectively supporting agriculture and light industry, and step by step overcome backwardness in the infrastructure, especially communications and transportation, of our national economy.

Practical experience in the past several years shows that in the first stage of socialist industrialization, energy plays an extremely important role in deciding the rate of growth of the entire economic system. In the years ahead, proceeding from the conditions of natural resources and capabilities in various aspects, we must concentrate efforts on developing the coal, power, and oil and natural gas sectors while striving to use other sources of energy such as methane, rice husks, wind, and solar energy.

Coal constitutes the key raw material not only in these 5 years but also for the long term. Coal extraction must be aimed in two directions. With regard to mines in Quang Ninh, we should reorganize production and vigorously improve management; deal with uncoordinated tasks in the chain of production at each mining area; secure sufficient equipment and materials, especially ensure a timely and steady supply of grain, food products, and essential consumer goods to coalminers; and improve their material and cultural lives. We should complete the construction of some major mines and begin constructing new ones; improve the screening and cleaning system to warrant the quality of coal; and complete the building of railways in the mining area.

Along with the aforesaid guideline, we should pay attention to exploiting small coal mines in the localities, especially those with large peat deposits. In this connection, there must be investment from both the central and local governments and a rational pricing policy promoting the use of local coal.

In the past years, we have invested much capital in building important electric power plant projects. In the next 5 years, we must continue to invest strongly in order to make a considerable step toward changing the energy balance. In the north, with the completion of the Pha Lai thermoelectric power plant and the installation of some generator groups in the Hoa Binh hydroelectric plant, there will be enough electricity to meet the demand with some excess for the central provinces. Besides the electricity from the north, the electric power sector is faced with the urgent task of seeking supplementary measures to secure electricity for the provinces in the V region and the central highlands. On the one hand, we should accelerate the construction of new electric power installations already approved. On the other, we should get more oil and spare parts to better use the existing installations. We should concentrate sufficient material conditions to ensure that the Tri An and Drayling hydroelectric projects are completed. Another important guideline is that the state and the people work together, using the central and local abilities, and strive to build many small hydroelectric projects in various zones, especially in the Central Highlands and northern mountainous regions, in order to meet local demand for electricity and respond

to the earnest aspiration of the people of various nationalities. Along with building more sources of electricity, it is necessary to promptly and uniformly establish networks of electricity, ranging from high to medium and low voltages. We should complete the transformation of the Hanoi electricity network; increase the source of and network electricity for the Mekong Delta, and prepare for the transformation of the electricity networks of Ho Chi Minh City and other cities whenever conditions permit. The primary purpose of improving the distribution and use of electricity is to steadily meet the socioeconomic requirements of the target points. At the same time, we must make positive preparations for the post-1990 period to build such planned projects as the Yali, Song Ninh, Thac Mo, Dac Nga 3, and so forth.

We must step up the exploration and exploitation of oil and natural gas on the southern continental shelf to get a considerable production volume of crude oil by 1990, and devise a project for satisfactorily using the extracted natural gas together with oil. We should begin constructing an oil refinery to yield three million metric tons per year in the first phase while continuing to explore for petroleum and gas on the northern continental shelf.

We should overcome the state of dispersion in the engineering sector by rearranging and reorganizing production countrywide on the basis of planning, labor division, and cooperation among the engineering forces in order to meet the urgent requirements of repairing and acquiring tools, machinery, equipment, and usual spare parts for various sectors and localities, especially for the manufacturing sectors of tools, tractors and agricultural implements, water pumps of all kinds, insecticide sprayers, and equipment of medium and small sizes to process agricultural products. We must strive to complete a number of engineering plants and make in-depth and uniform investment in some major factories. We must implement the program for cooperation with CEMA member-countries in the repair of sea vessels and the manufacture of some mechanical products. We should begin the construction of factories to manufacture automobile spare parts and tractors by the end of this plan term.

The development of raw and other materials industry constitutes an important requirement to ensure the fulfillment of the national economic demands.

On the basis of our diversified natural resources and by using advanced technical means in appropriate forms and on an appropriate scale, we should strive to increase the production capacity of the country in order to satisfy part of our requirements. With regard to iron and steel, we should make full use of the existing installations, satisfactorily expand the capacity of electric furnaces, and develop the small factories of non-ferrous and ferrous alloys. We should study the metallurgical industry in line with the conditions of resources and economic capacity of our country. With respect to non-ferrous metals, we should satisfactorily exploit the existing tin mines, complete the first phase construction of the Quy Hop tin corporation, and enlarge the areas of tin mining on a small scale through manual and semi-mechanized techniques. According to the cooperation plan with socialist countries, we should accelerate the geological exploration of bauxite deposits in the south, complete economic and technical studies and prepare for exploitation in subsequent plans. We should build and put into operation factories to exploit and produce lead and zinc, study the exploitation of copper ore, and organize the production and processing of ores on a small scale. We should proceed with cooperating with CEMA member-countries in the exploitation and use of rare earth minerals.

As regards chemical fertilizers, we should use all the capacity of and partly transform the Lam Thao superphosphate factory, and develop the production of roasted phosphate and phosphoric fertilizers. We should complete the restoration of the Lao Cai apatite



mine and continue to build the ore enriching factory. We should positively exploit pyrite domestically in order to further increase the amount of raw materials for the production of phosphate fertilizer. We should prepare for the building of a large nitrogenous fertilizer factory, using natural gas from the south. The existing sodium production installations must be put to good use while expanding or building anew some small ones to develop the production of acetylene, using domestic equipment. We should make technical investment in the improvement of assorted rubber inner tubes and tires, conveyor belts, and other technical rubber products.

With the source of raw materials abundant in localities, we must mobilize all sources of capital and labor under all forms and vigorously develop the production of building materials to serve the requirements of the state and get an additional source of commodities for sales to the people, especially peasants. Cement is a building material that is in great and urgent demand. Many of our production installations have not been used to capacity. As a result, we should invest in making production at the Hoang Thach and Bim Son factories more uniform, complete the construction of Ha Tien cement plant, and secure all the needed technical materials in order to quickly increase production and use the factories to full capacity. Local sources of coal must be tapped to produce bricks and tiles. We should fully use the capacity of glassware factories in the south, complete the construction of the Dap Cau glassware factory, and extract marble for decoration. Special attention should be paid to investment in the tapping and effective use of all sources of building materials in the Mekong River Delta to better fulfill the urgent demand for construction in this region. While implementing the aforesaid important tasks, we should prepare the conditions for building some heavy industry projects in the next plan.

We should speed up geological and mineral surveys and prospecting to meet the needs for development of different sectors of the national economy. Apart from making preparations for the major heavy industry projects in the years to come, we should step up surveys vigorously to support the extraction of various kinds of mineral products on a small scale, paying attention to those raw materials serving agricultural production and the production of consumer and export goods, and systematizing the management of mineral resources.

As a central link of the infrastructures, communications and transportation should be advanced to meet the developmental requirements of the national economy. However, in the past many years, as we have not paid proper attention to this link, goods shipment is rife with difficulties and the people meet with some troubles and obstacles in this regard. In the years ahead, we must struggle and further overcome backwardness in this domain. Along with making targeted investment, we must rearrange and reorganize the communications and transportation sector and maintain good coordination among the various sectors and between the central and local governments. We must promptly ship all the staple commodities and export and import goods, and carry out transportation in support of the border units and the north-south exchange traffic and for the two friendly countries of Laos and Cambodia.

In line with the terrain conditions and the current realistic situation, we should give priority to the development of waterway transportation, increase the percentage of railway transportation, and rationally arrange road transportation with the aim to increase public transportation capacity and fully use the basic means of transportation. In organizing transportation, attention should be paid to the application of operations research, coordination between the central and local governments for using the various means of transportation, increasing the percentage of direct trips, reducing transshipment, developing round trips, and satisfactorily resolving transportation reserve problem.



With regard to communications, we should immediately and primarily invest in restoring and maintaining roads and bridges and mobilize the abilities of the state and people to develop rural communications, especially in mountainous regions and the Mekong River Delta. We should strengthen bridges to ensure safe and through traffic, build a certain number of new bridges, consolidate the Hanoi-Lao Cai and North-South railway lines, enlarge some ports, and pay even more attention to the dredging of river beds and sea estuaries.

We should improve the quality of postal communications, establish the Hanoi-Ho Chi Minh wide band microwave line, consolidate and expand communications with foreign countries and the communications network within Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. We should organize more rationally managerial control and use of the national communications network and other professional communication networks of various sectors.

### III. Commercial Prices, Finance, and Money

The situation of prices, finance, and money continues its course of complex fluctuations due to the reasons analyzed in the political report. This situation is being urgently dealt with in accordance with the various decisions of the party and state. It is necessary to implement uniform measures to organize production, control goods, and transform and managerially control markets, prices, wages, finance, and money. Only some major policies on prices, trade, finance, and money for these five years are presented here.

First of all, we must reduce the rate of price increases and advance toward stabilizing prices. All solutions must focus on the key task of reducing the rate of inflation, narrowing the gap of imbalance between goods and currencies. On the one hand, we must liberate all production energy, focus on vigorously stepping up the production of some staples which are in great demand and goods which bring about great income for the budget, expand the goods transportation system, and eliminate inappropriate regulations on the transportation and sale of goods in order to rapidly increase the volume of goods in circulation.

On the other, the state must strictly control materials and goods -- turned out by the state-run economy and imports -- formulate appropriate policies on prices and trade transactions, control the sources of goods and money, regulate the volume of money in circulations, increase income, reduce expenses, and strictly limit the issuance of currency in order to help save the state budget. The central government should decentralize the authority for determining prices and managerially control prices in conformity with the situation. As regards the prices of materials sold to the state-run economic area, we should study the gradual correction of irregularities step by step, portion by portion, and make careful calculations to avoid confusion. We should determine appropriate purchase prices for grain and agricultural products in economic contracts. In order to control the main sources of goods, grain, agricultural products, and other commodities, the state must provide agricultural materials and technical services for the agricultural sector. It must purchase goods according to signed contracts based on the system of prices, material supply, and rational prices of agricultural products. The state will purchase at agreed-upon prices all surplus grain and agricultural products of cooperatives and peasants after they have paid their taxes and sold these products to the state in accordance with signed economic contracts. Theft and speculation with siphon off state materials to the free market must be positively eliminated.

Socialist trade must be strengthened both qualitatively and quantitatively. It must change its business procedures and surge forward to master the market and control

prices. The network of marketing cooperatives must be expanded to master the rural market and to sell most of the industrial consumer goods to peasants. We must get rid of the capitalist trade, rearrange and reorganize small merchants, and shift some of them to production and service domains.

Regarding retail prices of consumer goods, conditions must be positively created to apply commercial sale prices. Commercial sale prices are set on principle that the enterprise will operate at a profit; the state will achieve accumulation, maintain a rational relationship between industry and agriculture, and regulate supply and demand; and socialist trade will control the social market. In the realistic situation trade will control the social market. In the realistic situation at present, at certain places and at certain times, it is necessary to temporarily apply a dual sale price policy for a small number of essential commodities that are in short supply but in high demand.

The wages of workers and state employees must be readjusted to suit the price system and price level that have been formed in practice. At the same time, the state should guarantee adequate goods in stock for normal sale to wage earners. While the state's goods in stock are inadequate and prices are not yet stable, suitable sale procedures must be devised to ensure that wage earners can buy the necessary goods.

It is necessary to study and promulgate a unified national finance policy suitable to the characteristics of our country, correctly resolve distribution, and redistribute national income. The central state should rationally redefine the system of decentralizing management over budget revenues and expenditures. On the basis of accelerating production and strengthening market management, it is necessary to devise an appropriate policy of incentives aimed at vigorously increasing sources of revenue from within the economy and guarding against revenue shortfalls. On the other hand, it is necessary to arrange expenditure on the basis of revenue so as not to strain the budget, and to thoroughly cut down on spending in all respects. Through indirect planning methods, enterprises should be encouraged to strive to lower production costs and increase accumulation for the state. Suitable wholesale prices should be set on the basis of rationally established commercial retail prices so that the state can accumulate revenues from the production process.

To successfully ensure financial revenue sources the state should intensify unified management over the sources of supplies, both imported and domestically produced. It is necessary to reorganize the material supply system and take firm measures to guard against losses of goods. State-run units are not allowed to unwarrantedly buy and sell supplies that fall under the state's unified management. Trading in state supplies by private individuals is prohibited. Industrial and trade taxes must be collected in accordance with the rates in effect with no compromises given to households that deliberately fail to pay taxes either in part or in full. A study will be made to rationally readjust agricultural, garden, maritime product, and other taxes. It is necessary to rapidly consolidate the tax service, dismiss negative employees, and effect the system of dual leadership.

It is necessary to effect on a permanent basis the financial inspection system, strictly deal with violations according to law in order to rapidly establish financial discipline, and encourage the masses to participate in inspection and supervision in order to combat corrupt and wasteful practices.

It must be stressed that an important cause of the monthly escalation of prices is that inflation has reached a serious level and we must adopt active and uniform measures to overcome this problem. First of all, we must strengthen the management of cash. Of the money collected from the sale of goods, production and business establishments as well as service units may keep only as much cash as prescribed by the regulations to meet the demands of their production and business. Inspection and control must be carried out regularly and severe measures taken to eliminate the bad practice of retaining cash in excess of the prescribed amount for organs and enterprises. For their part, the banks must improve their professional activities, promptly meet the reasonable demands of production and business establishments, and put an end to all phenomena of officialism that cause trouble and negativism.

It is necessary to closely control credit capital. The bank will only grant additional loans of liquid capital after examining the purposes of business and determining that there really is a shortage of capital. Loans for the purpose of investing in capital construction should only be extended on the basis of the sources of capital already mobilized, with supplies put up as collateral, and with effectiveness clearly determined. It is necessary to expand the operations of credit cooperatives to mobilize idle sources of capital from among the people for developing production and circulation. We must strongly attract savings by insuring the value of deposited money in kind and offering appropriate interest rates.

The bank should broaden the settlement of payments by using convenient transfer procedures to serve production and circulation satisfactorily. On this basis, the bank's position as a center for settlement should be restored.

Changing the situation concerning prices, finances, and money is a complicated and difficult issue. Nevertheless, this is a pressing requirement. All echelons and sectors must strive to restore order, uphold the sense of organization and discipline, and correctly observe party and state regulations in order to bring about significant changes at an early date, thereby realistically contributing to stabilizing production and distribution, stabilizing the socioeconomic situation, and stabilizing the people's life.

#### IV. Science And Technology

During the past years, we have scored notable achievements in science and technology, especially in agricultural production. However, these achievements have not met the urgent requirement of the national economy, while the scientific and technological work results are still low. The scientific and technical cadres' capabilities have been enhanced, yet their organization is still scattered. Scientific and technological activities have not been realistically carried out in compliance with practical production. Investments and measures to ensure materials for scientific and technical bases have not been fully made. We have not formulated enough proper policies to encourage scientific and technological cadres to enthusiastically participate in production and take measures to overcome the problems in our economy.

We should realize that science and technology are really the driving force of socioeconomic development. In the years ahead, we must closely combine social sciences, natural sciences, and science and technology in developing a strategy for socioeconomic development and various economic development policies as well as in finding solutions to specific problems in production, economic management, and social life. In particular, we should concentrate the contingent of scientific and technological workers throughout the country on conducting research and quickly



applying scientific and technological achievements to serve the three major programs: grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods, and export goods. We must apply various scientific and technological advances to produce various new high-yield rice varieties and seeds, while improving animal breeding, veterinary science, and vegetation protection work. We must encourage peasants to use more fertilizer, improve the irrigation system, develop quality of fertile land, reduce losses in transportation and processing of grains and foodstuffs, study and disseminate cultivation methods in compliance with the environment of each locality, and pay attention to cultivation methods for the mountain and hilly areas. We must also apply scientific and technological advances to optimally and effectively use materials, raw materials, and fuel. We must study and expand the application of advanced industry, especially in exploiting and processing our nation's abundant natural resources in order to substitute partially imported materials, while satisfactorily using those discarded goods and materials. We must strengthen technical control work, especially on export goods and construction projects. We must regulate and strictly implement regulations on inspecting industrial establishments during their investment preparation process, especially their plans to import all equipment from abroad.

We must participate in study and research programs on scientific and technological advances organized by CEMA member-countries in order to optimally use these scientific and technological advances to better solve our immediate difficult problems. We must continue to expand and enhance the effectiveness of scientific and technological cooperation with foreign countries, while combining scientific and technological cooperation with economic cooperation.

We should bring into play the active role of the social sciences in the party's theoretical work, in formulating the socialist revolutionary program for the transition period in our country, and in clarifying some theoretical issues concerning the application of economic laws to the specific conditions of our country, concerning economic structure and the use of the various economic sectors, especially concerning socioeconomic management.

We must rearrange and perfect various research organizations, combine various research institutes which have duplicated functions or produced low results, and improve work at important leading institutes of various sectors. We must establish a number of comprehensive scientific and technological centers in various important economic zones such as those in the Mekong River Delta and the central highlands areas. We must pay attention to putting research findings into practice and reinforcing various test-production organs for research-application organizations.

Wherever they were trained, the existing contingent of scientific and technological workers are a valuable asset and constitute the contingent of socialist intellectuals. Therefore, we must implement incentive policies to create favorable conditions for them and adequately look after their interests in order to bring their intellect and talents into full play and to kindle their interest in doing research at production establishments, thereby helping to reduce the large concentration of scientific and technological workers in central organs, cities, and provinces while they are badly needed at the grass roots. We should study and promulgate policies to really encourage innovations and inventions and further promote creative labor.

Renovating the systems of economic management and scientific and technological management is an issue of decisive significance to the task of quickly introducing



scientific and technological advances into production and life. While continuing to perfect the mode of working according to plan, we should broaden the mode of working under contract with diversified and flexible forms and methods to combine economic organizations with scientific organs and to bring into play the right of these bodies to take initiatives under the guidance of a unified plan. Our managerial mechanism and policies must stimulate economic organizations, especially production establishments, to ask for the application of scientific and technological achievements; at the same time, these organizations must satisfy the essential requirements of scientific and technological activities.

Party committees and the administration at all levels, from the center to the grass roots, must attach importance to leading scientific and technological work, formulate requirements, make investments, and ensure the necessary conditions for scientific and technological activities. Attention must be paid to promoting the mass movement for technical innovations and for rationalizing production. Scientific cadres must be closely linked with production establishments and producers.

#### V. Social Problems and Renovation of the People's Life

In the immediate future, we will not only be concerned with production and economic questions but every one of us will have to grapple daily with many acute social problems. For this reason, now more than ever before, we must always closely combine economic issues with social ones, and vice versa. Our goals of stabilizing the situation and liberating productive capacity is not only to develop production and build new material and technical bases, but also to solve social problems, from employment to material and cultural life; replenish the people's force; establish good social relations and a healthy way of life; and realize social justice on the basis of the concept that the working people are the largest productive force and the main component of society.

In the coming years, more jobs, better use of the social labor force, and a planned population growth rate are extremely important socioeconomic requirements. Our task is to try by all means to reduce the population growth rate, make the greatest efforts to provide employment for laborers, redistribute the work force, associate labor with land exploitation, develop occupations and trades, motivate nomads to adopt settled farming and a settled life, and reduce the state administrative staff in order to develop production, raise labor productivity, and increase the efficiency of social production.

The socioeconomic situation of our country demands the reduction of the population growth rate from 2.2 percent at present to 1.7 percent by 1990. We must uniformly implement various measures such as making investment for the building of village medical service establishments and district family planning guidance centers. At the same time, we must revise and promulgate various related policies to ensure that the set plan for population growth is fulfilled. Implementation of family planning must be turned into a widespread social concern. Party and youth union members must set a good example by taking the lead in carrying out this task.

On the basis of rearranging and reorganizing production and work, we should find enough work for workers to do and should create proper conditions for them to work with high productivity. The wage system as well as wage scales and grades should be revised and amended to allow a satisfactory implementation of the principle of distribution of labor and to ensure that compensation is commensurate with commodity prices in reality. Concerning the social work force, we should try by all means to provide employment for the recently increased number of laborers, especially youths and students. We should promulgate at an early date a law on the labor obligation of youths.

A pressing requirement is that we must rearrange and streamline the state apparatus of administrative management; in particular we must drastically reduce the number of intermediary organizations such as departments, offices, bureaus, and sections, and must shift to the direct working method of specialists. The apparatus of local people's committees, including provincial, city, and district committees, must also be reorganized to be compact, efficient, and capable of administering management in their territorial divisions.

In accordance with the line of using various economic sectors, we should promulgate policies that help pave the way for laborers to create jobs for themselves in all forms on a suitable scale and at an appropriate level, including the form of hired labor in strict accordance with state law.

In various cities of our country, hundreds of thousands of laborers still remain jobless; many among them have a high level of culture and possess technical knowledge. We must bring their strengths into full play, directing them toward the areas of industrial, small industrial, and handicraft production; services and production of export goods under contract, and development of household economy. At the same time, we must link this task with the redistribution of the work forces, sending a number of laborers out of the cities to build food belts or dispatching them to various new economic zones. We must organize youth labor obligation units to serve various key projects.

Excess labor in rural areas is used primarily in accelerating the intensive cultivation of crops, multicropping, reclamation of virgin land, afforestation, fish raising, and developing trades and jobs. The state encourages the development of household and garden economies as planned, implements such incentive policies as giving loans and providing seeds, and creates favorable conditions in markets and prices for the consumption of products.

The uneven distribution of the work force and population among different regions is setting a major task for us, that is, to redistribute the work force and population in each region and in the entire country. In those localities with excess labor but a shortage of land, such as the Bac Bo Delta, on the one hand, we should use all the areas of fallow and hilly land and develop trades and jobs; and on the other, we should relocate part of the population to various new economic zones, mainly to the central highlands. In those localities with excess labor and some idle land such as the provinces of Region IV, the central coast, and northern midlands, we should mainly redistribute the work force within the provinces and districts so that by the end of this 5-year period all the labor and land in the regions will be basically used up. In those regions with much land but little labor (northern mountainous regions, central highlands, and the eastern Nam Bo), we must simultaneously resolve the labor problems within the regions and prepare the necessary conditions for receiving workers and people from other localities.

Nomadic farming and life is a historical legacy. It has prolonged the backwardness and poverty of ethnic groups and depleted our nation's forest wealth. This is not only an important socioeconomic issue but also a security and national defense problem. Therefore, in the coming years, along with the redistribution of the work force, it is necessary to make adequate investments in materials and capital to resettle most of the remaining nomads in various areas, mainly in the mountainous provinces of the central highlands.

As the political report of the party Central Committee has asserted, stabilizing and improving the people's standard of living is the primary objective of the central highlands.

As the political report of the party Central Committee has asserted, stabilizing and improving the people's standard of living is the primary objective for the coming years.

The extremely important task of all sectors and echelons is to ensure the necessary and stable diet for the people in grain and key foodstuffs such as fish, meat, vegetables, vegetable oil, sugar, and molasses. With regard to Hanoi, the Quang Ninh mining area, Ho Chi Minh City, and major construction projects, a food belt must be established by all means to meet most of the local demands. In each specific area of the countryside, attention must be paid to balancing distribution to ensure the supply of grain to those localities in short supply of grain such as those which grow industrial crops, manufacture exports, and suffer harvest losses because of natural disasters. We should get rid of the situation in which some localities have reported a high average grain quota but some of its people still starve, destabilizing the social situation.

The composition of daily meals should be improved in accordance with each area's conditions. There should be more proteins and lipids, more subsidiary food crop products, vegetables, and legumes. As for the mountainous regions and the central highlands, apart from the development of crop planting and livestock raising to ensure on-the-spot food sources, it is necessary to supply them with sufficient grains and foodstuffs. At the same time, we should determine various regions and localities directly responsible for production and supply of these foods to the armed forces, thus realizing on-the-spot logistics. We must ensure milk and sugar for workers engaged in heavy and toxic work. We must realistically pay special attention to labor safety at construction sites, in factories and underground mining areas.

We must strive to increase gradually textile production in accordance with the character of work of each occupation and trade and with the climatic conditions of each region, with due attention to the areas of ethnic minorities. Other items such as knitwear, blankets, mosquito nets, socks, raincoats, and labor safety garments should not be in short supply. Apart from vigorously accelerating cotton growing in those localities where conditions permit, we should develop the growing of mulberry for sericulture and other fibrous plants in order to turn out more fabrics suitable for local customs and taste, and more goods for export so as to import raw materials and to resolve the clothing problem for the people.

Medicines are currently an acute social problem. In the next five years, we must increase funds for common medicines, antibiotics, and anti-epidemic medicines in order to gradually eliminate malaria, angina, paralysis, whooping cough, measles. The grass-roots public health network, where the working people's health is treated directly every day, should be consolidated and revamped. Those villages without a medical station or maternity hospital and those districts with no hospitals must have such facilities built. The policies regarding benefits for health cadres at various levels, especially in villages, must be amended and supplemented so that these people can have peace of mind to work and enhance their sense of serving patients. We must restore and increase the number of hospital beds, mainly at the grass-roots level and in some localities which are currently in critical need such as cities, towns, and industrial complexes. The equipment of major hospitals must be maintained and gradually replaced. Each village must have a garden of medicinal plants and a close



association with the medical station in order to provide on-the-spot service. An area must be reserved for growing medicinal plants in a concentrated manner to serve the demands countrywide.

The sanitary conditions in cities and towns such as the problem of sewage, garbage dumps, and water supply must be improved. In rural areas, emphasis must be placed on the building of cesspools, wells, and bathrooms. Particularly in the Mekong River Delta, measures must be taken to keep the water source clean.

The movement of sports and physical training exercises must be vigorously accelerated among the people of all ages, especially among youths and students.

Housing is also currently an urgent problem for some regions. Apart from state-provided funds, we should mobilize the self-procured funds of production establishments and the people in order to alleviate the housing problem, especially in the capital of Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City. In the 5 years from 1986 to 1990, attention should be paid to building more houses in Hanoi, industrial complexes, farms and afforestation sites, and to clearing part of the alum areas left behind by the former regime in Ho Chi Minh City and some other localities. Some of the state material fund must be earmarked each year for the people to build their houses. In the Mekong River Delta, houses must be designed in line with local weather conditions and efforts must be made to fully use local materials and to tap all sources of peat to bake bricks, tiles, and lime for construction. In those coastal areas often hit by storms, houses should be designed in such a way as to limit damage by natural disasters. The state should strive to provide part of the needed materials to the people so that houses can be built more strongly.

The current shortage of lighting oil cannot be prolonged in rural areas, especially in the mountainous regions, the central highlands, and the Mekong River Delta. This problem should be resolved to ensure lighting for the people's activities.

To facilitate the people's transportation, we should increase the means of public conveyance in cities, mainly buses and 3-wheeled vehicles. The manufacture of good bicycles must be accelerated vigorously and many bicycles must be sold to peasants in rural areas. In the Mekong River Delta, we should emphasize the repair of roads, the building of new ones, the dredging of canals, and the increased use of road and water transportation. It should be stressed that by strengthening management, enhancing the transportation sector personnel's sense of service, and avoiding trouble for passengers, we plan not only to facilitate the people's transportation but also to help make social activities healthy.

Culture and education must be developed continually and enhanced qualitatively. At present, a number of primary school age children have not been able to go to school. Consequently, it is the common responsibility of the education sector, the party committee echelons, and the administration at all levels to ensure that all children of school age attend school and be concerned with the issues of school facilities, teachers, and other teaching and training devices. Special attention should be paid to advancing the professional ability and sense of responsibility of teachers and to formulating policies to guarantee the livelihood of teachers. While developing educational systems for children and enhancing the quality of raising and teaching children, we must strive to basically complete the Level 1 general education for children and reduce the rate of retention in grade and dropouts. We should continue to carry out educational reform with a practical scope suitable for the realistic conditions of teaching and learning, and on this basis to consolidate the teaching and



learning quality. With respect to middle school general education, we should improve the contents of the curriculum in accordance with the latest training objectives, paying special attention to technical, general, vocational, and professional education. The plan for developing general education at the middle school level must be linked closely with the plan to train cadres and skilled workers for localities and the entire country.

Regarding vocational education, we should improve the selection of students along the lines of linking their training closely with their distribution and employment. We should adopt national recruiting examinations to meet the state requirements for development and select and send local people to school in various sectors of agriculture, forestry, fishery, light industry, pedagogy, economy, public health... to fulfill the demands for local cadres. Special attention should be paid to the training of vocational middle school cadres, especially for the Mekong River Delta and the mountainous regions. The living conditions of boarding school students must be improved so that they can have good health conditions to learn. More in-service and specialized training courses must be conducted.

To meet the needs of a large number of laboring people, attention should be given to consolidating and developing supplementary education, especially at worksites, state farms, state forests, and industrial centers.

The network of vocational, mid-level, advanced, and higher education schools must be rationally rearranged at an early date to create conditions for consolidating and improving the quality of teaching, studying, and scientific research. It is necessary to clearly establish a system by which collectivized economic units and people may contribute to building material bases for the education sector in accordance with the motto "The state and the people work together," so as to rationally draw contributions from the people while avoiding all instances of abuse.

Developing cultural and information activities is now a great requirement of the people's life. We must greatly increase the publication of books and some important daily newspapers, and ensure enough textbooks for students. Efforts must be made to provide all villages and districts with radio sets and wired-radio stations and to supply rural areas with enough batteries to operate radio sets. Conditions should be created to expand the television network. We must also strive to ensure sufficient material and technical conditions for stepping up cultural and artistic activities as well as preservation and conservation work.

The work of social insurance for the entire people should be done in accordance with the motto "The state and the people work together."

In the immediate future, it is necessary to rearrange and develop social insurance projects and correctly apply policies suited to each region and to the economic and social situation of the country. Party and administrative organizations at all levels have the responsibility of taking good care of the material and cultural life of retired people and families who have rendered meritorious services to the revolution. Attention must be given to creating conditions for promoting the role of retired people to educate and foster the younger generation. It is necessary to satisfactorily care for the seriously disabled and sick soldiers; fully carry out policies concerning sick and disabled soldiers and families of fallen combatants, particularly lonely relatives of fallen combatants; and take care of orphans, the handicapped, and lonely old people. These tasks have not been carried out satisfactorily by a number of localities in the past, this is a shortcoming that we must overcome.

## VI. Adjustment of Guidelines for and Structure of Investment

In economic construction and development, especially in our country, the demand for capital investment always poses a pressing problem. In the years to come, we should, on the one hand, know how to make the best use of sources of capital from outside and, on the other hand, turn to good account, through new options and policies, all available sources of capital from all branches, localities, and grass-roots units and from various economic components at home. These sources of capital should come from the existing strong points of our economy, namely agriculture, forestry, fishery, and small industry and handicrafts — which account for about 60 percent of the gross social product at present — from the application of scientific and technical achievements, from a strict practice of thrift, from enhancing labor efficiency, from reducing production cost, and so on. In all sectors and areas of activities, the working people, once liberated, will become real masters of the process of production and business and will surge forward with a new creative strength. This is the most important and decisive source of capital.

The problem for us now, however, is not only to create sources of capital, but, equally important to know how to use and manage these sources in the most effective manner. In recent years, we have drawn many painful lessons on investments in capital construction, lessons which should not be repeated. These were the indiscriminate construction of various projects, lack of coordination, failure to complete many projects, and construction delays resulting in losses of building materials and serious wastage. While we do not have enough schools for children and hospitals for patients, some localities have used materials and money for building offices, theaters, hotels, shophouses, stadiums, and so on. This does not mean that these projects are not necessary, but the problem is we must consider the priorities of each project and concentrate on the most urgent ones. In the immediate future, to carry out economic adjustments and rearrange the investment structure in the whole national economy, we must concentrate capital on the three major economic programs and should by no means spread investments evenly. A big problem is that although we have unanimously agreed on a general policy, when specific arrangements are made to handle various projects, quite a number of sectors and localities have tended to make adjustments reluctantly. It should be stressed that an increase or decrease in the investment rate for a sector or locality must be seen in the general context of the whole country. While sources of capital are limited, all sectors and localities must strictly adhere to the fundamental views stated in the political report in order to have the initiative in reorganizing their own investment structures.

In agriculture, we should concentrate on the production of grain and food products — the number one target — and meet the needs for investment in water conservation, in processing and storing grain and food products, and in planting short-term industrial crops. Regarding long-term crops, we should carefully study markets and efficiency so as to work out correct policies for investment in coffee, tea, coconuts, rubber, and so forth.

In the consumer goods industry, attention should be given to intensive investments and standardization so as to increase the rate of usage; building some additional enterprises to process sugar, tea, coconut oil, etc; and ensuring sufficient facilities to expand the production of export goods under labor contracts with the Soviet Union and other countries.

As for heavy industry, we must provide on a priority basis capital for projects with production potential in compliance with plans. These projects should involve fuel, fertilizer, and machinery.

Regarding communications and transport, we must pay special attention to improving the north-south railroad and other railways leading to various industrial areas, river and sea ports, while striving to urgently restore some important rail sections.

In the cultural and social fields, first we must invest in order to maintain existing establishments, while striving to build more essential cultural and social centers.

In the years ahead we must, on the one hand, strive to gain accumulations and gradually increase accumulations from our economy in order to increase our capital while, on the other, effectively using foreign capital and quickly putting a stop to the use of foreign and depreciation capital for consumption purposes.

Considering possible investments over the next 5 years, we must strictly trim the list of above-norm as well as below-norm construction projects sponsored by the central and local governments. Those projects necessary to be built must also be reduced in number. Regarding projects not really urgently needed, consideration must be given to sharply cutting down construction expenses and to concentrating capital on the main projects. Those projects about to be built must be reviewed for better choices. The construction of less urgent or not very productive projects must be slowed down or stopped altogether.

Together with a reorientation and a rearrangement of the investment structure, it is especially important to renovate the investment mechanism in order to heighten the sense of responsibility in investment policy and to bind the responsibilities and material interests of investors to investment efficiency. We should bring order to investment planning and management regarding all sources of capital and all projects. Banking and financial activities should be promoted to ensure better control over the use of investments. Such are the main points of a new mechanism that should be studied and applied to ensure low costs and, in particular, high construction quality.

#### VII. To Renovate the Planning Mechanism

In order to ensure the successful implementation of the socioeconomic tasks and objectives in these 5 years, we should renovate the economic management mechanism, considering this a powerful driving force to improve the socioeconomic situation and promote and facilitate the development of new factors. The main orientation and content of the process of renovating the economic management mechanism have been determined in the political report of the Central Committee. In keeping with that orientation, planning work must be really renovated both in content and method.

The content of planning work must reflect accurately the party's viewpoints on the arrangement of the economic structure, the liberation of all existing productive capacities, the tapping of the country's potentials, and the effective utilization of international assistance in order to develop vigorously the productive forces along with building and consolidating socialist relations. Of foremost importance is to ensure the implementation of the three major economic programs. Plans must closely link with and efficiently use the various policies of economic levers and must be oriented toward the grass-roots units and the laboring people. They must satisfactorily encourage their production and business activities, eliminate unnecessary intermediary links, the prevent higher managerial levels from infringing upon the legitimate interests of the people directly engaged in production.



The very important task is to work out a good 5-year 1986-90 plan as well as the annual plans, and immediately study the socioeconomic strategies, the overall development plans, the distribution of production forces, and long-term plans.

In order to overcome the bureaucratic centralized state-subsidy system in planning, we must have a planning mechanism that accords with the socialist way of cost-accounting and doing business. We must, first and foremost, strictly observe the principle of democratic centralism, make a clear distinction between the administrative and economic functions of the central and local state organs on the one hand, and the managerial functions in production and business of grass-roots economic units on the other. At the same time, in the planning task we must use in a proper and widespread manner the commodity-money relationship and the market relations.

Plans of the central level set forth important orientations, economic and investment structures, key targets, main projects, and essential goods which can directly change major balances in the national economy. Various ministries and the State Planning Commission must coordinate to satisfactorily coordinate plans for sectors, especially key economic and technical sectors which require long-term and 5-year plans. Ministries must satisfactorily carry out state administrative-economic management functions to serve sectors throughout the country. They should not interfere in the production and business management of basic economic units.

Plans of localities (provinces, cities, districts, and precincts) are general plans for local socioeconomic tasks. These include plans for grass-roots units managed by provinces and other plans managed by the central level. Based on the orientations and main targets of the state plan, the people's committee of localities are authorized to supplement plans, balance the economic management tasks under their direct responsibility, and integrate plans relating to the central sectors.

Regarding the relationship between central and local levels, it is necessary to effect a mechanism of management that clearly reflects the close link between responsibility and authority and between obligations and interests. The central level should assign localities with a number of main norms to cover the quantity and quality of agricultural, forestry, and marine products as well as industrial and artisan and handicrafts products, including export products, which the localities must deliver to the central government to meet the entire country's general demands for 5 years and each year; taxes and revenues for inclusion in the central budget; labor to be supplied by the localities to the central government; labor distribution; capital, supplies, machinery, equipment, and consumer goods to be provided by the central government to the localities; and so forth.

These norms should be fixed for the localities for every year of the 5-year period. The products not covered by these norms are at a disposal of the localities; and the central government should introduce appropriate incentives to obtain them (through prices or additional supply of materials, goods...) This is also the mechanism that should be applied to the relationship between provinces (municipalities) and districts or precincts.

Planning in the grass-roots units must be done in a comprehensive manner to cover production, technical, financial, and social aspects, based on the exercise of their right to autonomy in production and business and to financial autonomy in conformity with Decision 306 (draft) of the political bureau. First of all, we must bring into



full play all local supply resources to work out optimally balanced plans and ensure active and firm planning from the grass-roots level upward. Plans of state-run economic units must be based on the guidance provided by the upper level and ensure the fulfillment of the legal quotas assigned by it. At the same time, they must firmly appreciate demand on the domestic and foreign markets and link production with consumption through economic contracts. All integration activities must be fully reflected in the plans of the various levels. Economic contracts must really become effective legal instruments for formulating and implementing plans along the lines of socialist business accounting.

We affirm that agricultural cooperatives and production collectives, basing themselves on their own socioeconomic conditions as well as the general guidelines for the entire country and for provinces and districts as defined in programs and plans, and on the needs for consumption and exchange of products with the state, have the full right to decide their production structure and their socioeconomic plans. Aside from the tax obligation, economic relations between the state and the cooperatives are governed by buying and selling contracts concluded with state-run business organizations in accordance with the principle of parity of prices and real mutual agreement. Beside the goods sold to the state under contract and at agreed-upon prices, cooperatives have the right to effect integration in order to exchange products or directly organize the marketing of their commercial products.

Concerning small industry and handicraft cooperatives, the state should keep them informed of the demand for key products so that they have a basis for formulating plans and looking for customers with whom to sign contracts. It is important to implement policies on the supply of materials, raw material, energy, grain...that clearly have the effect of encouraging the production of consumer goods according to plan and the division of productive labor. The relations between the state and the cooperatives are effected through economic contracts under which raw materials are sold and products are purchased at agreed-upon prices. Due incentives should be given to encourage the production of extra marketable goods with self-procured raw materials or with savings funds.

Regarding key products of the economy that are produced by state-run units, their production and distribution will be entrusted by the state to production and marketing establishments. These establishments will proceed to sign contracts with each other based on the plan norms to carry out their tasks.

Regarding various types of technical supplies, the State Planning Commission and the various ministries will formulate supply plans that are subject to consideration and approval by the Council of Ministers which will then assign tasks to the various supply organizations, ministries, and localities. Supplies must be used in accordance with the planned targets; and state-provided supplies must not be used for joint business and integration purposes, sold to earn profits from price differentials, or used for any other purposes. It is necessary to scrupulously make a final accounting of supplies. In order to do away with state subsidies and correctly effect economic accounting the state will observe the principle of buying and selling supplies at rational prices and in accordance with the plan, economic contracts, and economic-technical norms.

The various sources of capital investment must be reflected in the plan and balanced against the sources of supplies and construction forces, and capital investment earmarked from the central budget will be concentrated on major projects and major targets of the national economy. Local projects will be funded chiefly with self-acquired capital and capital earmarked from the local budget. The central government will only provide capital aid for a number of provinces and municipalities that are still faced with many difficulties. Intensive investment and standardization projects of grass-roots units will be funded chiefly with self-acquired capital.

Regarding export-import, it is necessary to establish the nomenclature and quantity of export goods so as to guarantee the fulfillment of international commitments, considering them as legal state norms. The central government will provide the conditions for the various sectors, localities, and grass-roots units to carry out their plans for the production and delivery of export goods. Export plans should be balanced at every level with the necessary material resources depending on the capabilities and conditions thereof. The central government will be responsible for and firmly grasp the key balances regarding key products. Import plans at all levels must be closely and promptly considered and approved, taking into consideration the priority of their needs, with the aim of using foreign currency economically and effectively.

Dear comrades,

The above are the main orientations and targets for socioeconomic development in the 5 years 1986-1990. These orientations and targets embody the party's viewpoints on changing the economic structure and making major readjustments in the investment structure, on socialist transformation, and on renovation of the management mechanism in accordance with the characteristics of our country in the initial stage of the period of transition to socialism.

The targets set forth have been calculated on the basis of domestic and foreign resources that have so far been determined. At the same time, active measures have been worked out to exploit and bring into full play all capabilities that exist now and will be multiplied in the next 5 years. These measures are mainly aimed at reorganizing production, readjusting the investment structure, applying scientific and technological achievements, correctly using the various economic sectors, absolutely practicing thrift, renovating the management mechanism, and so forth. These targets involve a close combination of economy with national defense and vice versa.

If these orientations and targets for socioeconomic development can be fulfilled, by 1990 the economy and society in our country will have undergone notable changes. The national income from production will increase by an average of 6-7 percent per annum. With 22-23 million metric tons of grain in 1990, we shall not only become relatively self-sufficient but shall also begin to have some reserve. Energy supply will be improved by one step further with the development of coal, electricity, oil, and natural gas production. The production of consumer goods, mainly common goods made with domestically available raw materials, will meet the essential demands of the people.

With socialist transformation and the consolidation of the new production relations being carried out in strict accordance with the lines and viewpoints of the party, the socialist economic sector, which consists of the state-run and collectivized components, will hold a decisive position in the economy. The other economic components will be transformed and utilized under various transitional economic forms

on an integrated basis wherein the state-run economic component will play a leading role. The market and prices will be placed under strict control. This is an important shift in direction which will help release and exploit all capabilities to develop production forces and build a rational economic structure.

On the basis of vigorously developing socialist commodity production, we will open up a new prospect of producing enough to meet the minimal demand for consumption and initially achieving accumulation from within the economy.

In the 5 years 1986-90, despite a population increase of about 6 million, some average per-capita indices concerning the consumption of grain, food, and essential consumer goods will increase over the 1981-85 period. Also, with the effective enforcement of positive measures in the fields of distribution, circulation, and market and price management, the laboring people's life will be gradually stabilized and improved. It is important that social equity be established step by step and order and discipline increasingly guaranteed.

These objectives, of course, are still below the demands, but they can be achieved only through very great effort. Nonetheless, they must be attained by all means. Only in that case can we reach the overall objective of stabilizing the socioeconomic situation and creating the premises for the next step of development in the subsequent years.

The situation is evolving in an extremely complicated and also very lively manner. Given the general difficult conditions of our economy, there have been many localities, sectors, and especially establishments which have carried on their business with dynamism and creativity, thus bringing about many valuable lessons. This is the creative power of the working people. Once socialist democracy is really brought into play and finds its expression in practice instead of being an empty slogan, good measures will be found and a new dynamic force created. It is quite obvious that much, but not all, has been said about negative and corrupt practices. This is a fact which we must bring to light so as to gain more profound understanding of our shortcomings to enhance our determination to overcome them. On the other hand, we must affirm the new factors which are emerging from labor and life -- new factors that inspire new confidence. The working people and the majority of party cadres and members who have been tempered and tested are positive factors, a prop on which we can rely to overcome our weaknesses, deficiencies, and sluggishness and to continue our march forward. Our party has learned the lesson of "relying on the people who are the root." Through different periods of struggle as well as at present, those localities, sectors, and grass-roots units which have relied on the people and believed in the masses have been able to overcome step by step the difficulties and score many achievements. This lesson must be applied throughout the process of building our socialist economy.

Dear comrades:

The economic solutions which we are and will be formulating are aimed at bringing into full play practical capabilities, some of which are very realistic. Nevertheless, in order to reverse the on-going complicated situation, we must undertake in a firm and consistent manner the three following categories of measures:

Firstly, the whole party unanimously, strongly, and categorically reaffirms the need to shift the economy in the direction of a structure which corresponds with the socioeconomic characteristics of the initial stage, concentrating materials and capital from both within and without on the provincial products and key projects through a steady and effective style of work.

Secondly, on that basis, we should effect truly revolutionary renovation in the domain of economic organization and management, the organizational and personnel apparatus, especially the judicious selection and assignment of cadres and the timely replacement of cadres unsuitable to the new management mechanism along with the renovation in the style and method of work.

Thirdly, we will strive to abolish the centralized bureaucratic state-subsidy system, reestablish at all costs order and discipline in the economic, social, party, and state activities, strictly abiding by the principle "all party members are equal before party discipline" and "all citizens are equal before the law." We must severely punish corrupt people, speculators, and profiteers.

To put the above measures into practice, we must launch a campaign of extremely great significance to purify the party ranks and enhance the militancy and leadership skills of the party, purify and enhance the effectiveness of the state apparatus, oppose negativism and corruption in society, build up healthy social relations, and practice social justice in all domains.

The above-mentioned solutions and mobilization campaign must eventually create a revolutionary movement of the masses. That is to materialize the sacred behest of great Uncle Ho whose centenary will be celebrated by our entire party and people in 1990, the closing year of this 5-year plan.

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## **DRAFT RESOLUTION OF SIXTH CPV CONGRESS**

**BK180925 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0734 GMT 18 Dec 86**

**[Draft Resolution of the Sixth National CPV Congress read by Nguyen Van Hieu, member of the congress presidium at 18 December closing session at Ba Dinh Conference Hall in Hanoi -- live]**

**[Text] The Communist Party of Vietnam**

### **The Sixth Congress**

#### **The Resolution of the Sixth National CPV Congress of Delegates**

**The Sixth CPV Congress, after discussing the Political Report of the fifth party Central Committee presented by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh and the report of the party Central Committee on the main orientations and objectives for socioeconomic development for the 5-year 1986-90 period, affirmed the determination to renovate the party leadership task in a revolutionary and scientific spirit.**

**The congress highly valued the process of democratizing the political activities of our party and people during the time of preparing and holding the congress. All comrades throughout the party and the compatriots at home and abroad had contributed constructive and diversified opinions to the draft Political Report of the party Central Committee and had raised many good suggestions for our party to reach decisions capable of meeting the demands of this revolutionary stage.**

**The congress marked an important change in the process of inheriting and renovating party leadership politically, ideologically, and organizationally and further enhanced the cohesion within the party and the bonds between the party and the people. The congress had a total identity of views with all the conclusions reached by the party Central Committee concerning the evaluation of the situation, the reviewing of experiences, and the determining of tasks, objectives, orientations, and policies aimed at continuing to move our country's revolutionary cause forward.**

**The congress resolved: Through the Political Report of the party Central Committee, the entire party must observe all the viewpoints and conclusions outlined in the report and must strive to implement successfully all the tasks already set, must regard the main contents of the party Central Committee's report on orientations and objectives for socioeconomic development for the 5-year 1986-90 period as a base for guiding the building and for directing the implementation of the 5-year plan.**

The Sixth CPV Congress assessed: The past 5-year period was full of ordeals for our party and people to have passed through. Our country's revolution has taken place in an environment of international and local situation where, though with basic advantages, there have been numerous difficulties and complications. In implementing the tasks and objectives set by the Fifth CPV Congress, our people have struggled heroically to overcome difficulties and obstacles and have succeeded in scoring important achievements in socialist construction and gaining great victories in the fight for national defense as well as in implementing their international obligations. From across the country, there have existed many good production and business establishments and excellent combat units. A number of localities and sectors, thanks to their dynamism and creativity, have scored many encouraging achievements.

These achievements scored while implementing the two strategic tasks and strengthening the relations of unity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, Laos, Cambodia, and other fraternal countries in the socialist community and the efforts to develop the friendship and cooperation with various independent nations and various progressive and peace forces have created for our country's revolutionary cause many new factors to continue to move forward. These achievements, stemming from those party lines affirmed at the fourth and fifth congresses, are the fruit of the enduring and staunch struggle of our entire party, people, and armed forces.

The congress warmly commended the compatriots of various nationalities throughout the nation, the working class, the collective peasantry, socialist intelligentsia, the laboring people of other strata, and the people's armed forces for, under the most difficult and hard conditions, having upheld their revolutionary heroism and their collective mastery spirit, worked diligently and creatively, fought heroically and resourcefully, and scored numerous new achievements and victories.

The congress warmly welcomes Vietnamese residents living abroad who have always thought of their fatherland and positively contributed to building the nation. The congress expressed our party and people's sincere gratitude to the Soviet Union and the two fraternal countries of Laos and Cambodia for their great assistance, to other fraternal socialist countries for their wholehearted assistance, and to various friendly countries, many international organizations, and progressive people in the world for their sympathy and support. In affirming various achievements, we also realized that our socioeconomic situation was facing numerous acute difficulties, production increased slowly, investment results were low, distribution and circulation was confusing, although the great imbalances of the economy were slowly being narrowed. Some of these difficulties became even more acute. And although the socialist production relations were slowly being consolidated, the working people in their daily life still faced numerous difficulties, negative phenomena were prevalent in many places; at some places it was serious.

Generally speaking, we have not yet fulfilled the general objectives set forth by the Fifth CPV Congress, that is to basically stabilize the socioeconomic situation and improve the people's daily life. The congress has not underestimated various objective difficulties, while it seriously pointed out that the subjective causes of this situation were due to various shortcomings and errors in leadership and management of the party and state. We experienced shortcomings in evaluating the concrete situation of the nation, in formulating the objectives and orientations for socialist construction.

During the 1970-80 period, on a practical basis, we strived to accelerate industrialization, while we had insufficient essential prerequisite facilities. We

carried out socialist transformation loosely. Our economic management mechanism was out-of-date, while renovation was slowly carried out. During the 1981-85 5-year period, we did not seriously carry out the Fifth CPV Congress' correct conclusions on making concrete the economic policy in the initial stage, failed to overcome such practices as hastiness, conservatism, and sluggishness. In strengthening the economic structure, socialist transformation, and economic management we experienced new errors which were serious, especially in the distribution and circulation field. We loosely implemented the proletarian dictatorship system in socioeconomic management, in the ideological and cultural struggle, and in opposing various wicked schemes and acts of sabotage of the enemy. These serious errors are affecting various main policies and positions in supervising and implementing strategic tasks. Main trends and concepts causing these errors, especially errors in economic policy, were due to such phenomena as subjectivism, voluntariness, simple thoughts and acts, and hastiness. These are trends causing the loose implementation of socioeconomic management and failure in seriously implementing the party lines and principles.

These are manifestations of a petit bourgeois concept — having both rightist and leftist tendencies. Errors and shortcomings in the socioeconomic field stemmed from shortcomings in the ideological, organizational, and cadre-related tasks of the party. In the ideological aspect, there emerged backwardness in theoretical knowledge and weakness in applying various laws during the transitional period toward socialism in our country. In the organizational aspect, the biggest shortcomings were insufficient planning, slow rate in reassigning cadres, violating the principle of democratic centralism in the party activities, prevailing bureaucracy in supervising and carrying out tasks, and over-sized organizations and apparatuses, thus causing duplication and poor results, while education for and management of party cadres and members were carried out carelessly.

Through its practical tasks during the past years, our party has drawn on various valuable lessons and experience, especially the following lessons:

1. In its general activities, the party must firmly grasp the ideology of taking the people as a base, while strengthening and developing the working people's right to collective mastery.
2. The party must always base itself on realities and must respect and act according to the objective law.
3. It is necessary to know how to combine the strength of the nation with that of our time under new conditions.
4. It is necessary to attentively care for party building, trying to bring it up to the level required of a ruling party which is leading the people in undertaking the socialist revolution.

The sixth party Central Committee and party organizations at all levels, in their activities, must fully understand and seriously apply these lessons, strive to surge forward to meet the new demands of the revolutionary undertaking, lead the people in developing what they have already gained, in overcoming difficulties, and in generating a vigorous change in national development.

The congress affirmed: Our entire party, people, and armed forces must remain united and single-minded and must resolve to devote all of their minds and energy to continuing to implement the two strategic tasks — building socialism successfully and

defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland firmly — while making active contributions to the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism. [applause]

Our people will continue to do their utmost to strengthen the unity and improve the quality and efficiency of the comprehensive cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and must constantly consolidate and develop our special alliance with the two countries of Laos and Cambodia, regarding this as a sacred obligation and as a strategic important duty which is inseparable from the vital interests of the independence, freedom, and socialism of the three fraternal countries in the Indochina peninsula.

As for the socialist construction task, the congress affirmed: The overriding tasks and the general objectives for the remaining years of the initial stage consist of stabilizing all the aspects of the socioeconomic situation and continuing to build preconditions for stepping up socialist industrialization in the ensuing stage. Stabilizing the socioeconomic situation means stabilizing and developing production, stabilizing distribution and circulation, stabilizing and gradually improving the material and cultural life of the people, enhancing the efficiency of managerial organization, establishing order and discipline, and realizing social equality.

Specific objectives consist of ensuring that production is sufficient for consumption and accumulation, creating a rational economic structure to develop production, building and further perfecting new production relations, and creating changes for the better in the social field, and ensuring requirements for consolidating national defense and security.

While putting on the forefront the socialist construction task, the congress affirmed: Our entire party, people, and armed forces must heighten vigilance, increase the country's national defense and security capabilities, be determined to defeat the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, and ensure initiatives in all situations in order to defend the country.

The congress entrusted the sixth party Central Committee with the task of directing successfully the implementation of those tasks outlined in the Political Report. The congress emphasized the following tasks:

First, working out and directing the implementation of the three programs on food grain, consumer goods, and export goods in order to attain the following objectives upon completion of the initial stage:

- Ensuring the grain demands of society and the need to keep some grain as reserve.
- Regularly meeting essential demands for food and for an adequate level of food grain consumption in order to regenerate labor.
- Meeting the people's demands for essential consumer goods, creating a number of main export goods, and quickly increasing the volume of exports in order to meet a great part of requirements for the import of materials, machinery, spare parts, and other necessary goods.

As these three targeted programs made up the main contents of the 1986-90 5-Year Plan, we must concentrate to the fullest our energy and money on implementing them. We must combine the building of various economic-technical sectors with efforts to develop the



strength of each region, each province, and each city in the direction of broadening the production and circulation of goods with the emphasis placed on carrying out economic construction in districts, making correct use of and achieving integration among various economic elements, and developing the leading role of the state-run economic sector.

These programs must show a balance among the objectives, facilities, and measures, and uniformly resolve the problems of production organization, technology, and economic policies. These programs set the orientations for rearranging the national economy on a rational structure, first of all, rearranging the structure of production and making major adjustments in the investment structure in order to effectively exploit the potentials of labor, land, and existing material and technical bases.

We must make sure that agriculture, including forestry and fishery, is really the foremost battlefield with demands for investments, energy, materials, and technical labor fulfilled on a priority basis. Effort must be primarily focused on targeted areas in order to achieve high economic results.

We must strive to develop light industry, handicrafts and the artisan industry; fulfill by all means the demands for consumer goods and the requirements of processing agricultural, forestry, and maritime products; quickly increase the number of cottage industry goods for export and other export items; continue to build some installations of heavy industry and infrastructure -- primarily for the sectors of energy and transportation -- in line with realistic conditions in order to serve practically the economic and national defense objectives in the initial stage and prepare the premises for vigorously accelerating industrialization in the following stage; expand service operations to support production, circulation, livelihood, and tourism; intensify and closely combine the activities of the sectors of technology, natural science, and social science; increase the level of investment along with renovating the management system and reorganizing scientific and technical forces to attach technology closely to production and life, yield realistic results, and become a component of the social production forces; broadly apply scientific and technical achievements in order to primarily serve the three programs and objectives; urgently amend and complete the economic policies, especially the policies on the supply of materials, the circulation of goods, prices, taxes, credits, wages, and so forth in order to encourage the primary installations, workers, peasants, and craftsmen to develop production enthusiastically; expand and enhance foreign economic results; step up exports to meet the requirements of imports; participate ever more broadly in the international labor division -- primarily and mainly develop the relations of labor and comprehensive cooperation division with the Soviet Union, Laos and Cambodia, and other CEMA member countries; actively cooperate with the fraternal countries to formulate and implement the CEMA programs for helping Vietnam and CEMA's general program for scientific and technical progress until the year 2000; actively develop economic, scientific, and technical relations with other countries, international organizations, and foreign private organizations on the principle of equality and mutual benefit; and scrupulously fulfill all the pledges of our country in its economic relations with other countries.

Second, we must perform the duty of socialist transformation in a regular manner under the various suitable forms and steps to make production relations relevant to the characteristics and standard of production forces; promote the development of production forces; strengthen the socialist economy on the three planes of ownership, management, and distribution systems; enable the state-run economy to develop its key role and together with the collective economy to occupy the decisive position in the national economy and control other economic elements; encourage development of the

household economy; use the positive capacity of the small production economy while simultaneously mobilizing and organizing individual workers into collectives in order to increase the results of production and business; arrange, transform, and employ small merchants; assist those who are no longer needed in the field of circulation, and shift some of them to production and service areas; employ the private capitalist economy and petit bourgeois in some trades and jobs along with gradually transforming them under the many forms of state-run capitalist economy; eliminate private capitalist trade; and expand many forms of alliance among various economic elements in accordance with the principle of mutual benefits and equality before law.

Third, it is necessary to renovate the economic mechanisms to generate a driving force for encouraging economic units and the working masses to enthusiastically develop production and improve productivity, quality, and economic efficiency. Resolute efforts must be made to do away with the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies and establish and effect uniformly a mechanism of planning geared to economic accounting and socialist enterprise methods in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. The new mechanism, with planning serving as the core, correctly makes use of the goods-money relation, carries out management by using primarily economic measures combined with administrative and educational measures, effects decentralization of management according to the principle of democratic centralism, and establishes order and discipline in all economic activities.

The renovation of planning must be aimed at ensuring implementation of the sixth congress resolution on rearranging the economy, reorganizing the production structures, and making a large-scale readjustment of the investment portfolio. Plans must be formulated from the grass roots and combined from that level up, under the guidance and moderation of the central level. It is necessary to ensure positive and realistic balances and closely combine sectorial planning with territorial planning. The validity of economic contracts between production and business units must be guaranteed by the state economic arbitration system.

We must fully and correctly use economic stimuli in planning and economic management on the basis of harmoniously reconciling social interests with those of the collectives and the laborers. The income level of the collectives and laborers depends on the results of labor and economic efficiency. The policies and systems for managing supplies, labor, product consumption, prices, finances, credit, wages, and so forth must gear economic activities toward realizing the targets of the national economic plan and create conditions for and require all economic units to satisfactorily carry out business accounting and all organizations and individuals to practice thrift intensively in production and consumption.

It is necessary to effect decentralization of management according to the principle of democratic centralism; oppose bureaucratic centralism along with liberalism, disorganization, departmentalism, and individualism; and guarantee the rights to autonomy in production and business and financial autonomy of basic economy units and the right to mastery of labor collectives. State management organs from the central to village or city ward level must correctly discharge their administrative and economic management function without interfering in the basic units' production and business activities and ensure the effectiveness of the central level's centralized and unified management regarding issues of national importance while guaranteeing the local echelons' initiatives in socioeconomic management in their territorial areas.

Fourth, we must resolve at all costs pressing problems regarding distribution and circulation by taking the following main measures: unleashing productive capacity and

concentrating efforts on providing supplies and improving specific policies aimed at stepping up the production of essential goods and goods that generate large revenues for the budget. The state must closely control the supplies and goods that are produced by the state-run economy or imported, and adopt a rational price policy and purchase and sales procedures to control goods and money. Socialist trade must really shift to business and improve the quality of services to control the market. The central level must decentralize price fixing and management in accordance with the actual situation so as to ensure that production establishments can operate normally and socialist trade can take the initiative in making purchase and sales transactions.

To rapidly increase the volume of goods in circulation it is necessary to broaden the exchange of goods, rescind various measures that restrict and divide the market according to administrative boundaries, and promptly discover and severely punish speculators and illegal traders. Positive efforts must be made to reduce budget deficits by generating sources of revenue and increasing revenues in accordance with set policies. It is necessary to economize spendings and postpone expenditures that are not urgent, gradually cut down on and proceed toward ending the issuance of money to cover budget expenses, intensify control over the circulation of money, draw idle money among the people, increase the money turnover, and broaden the various forms of noncash payments to serve production and business satisfactorily. By using various measures, the state must guarantee the actual wages of the laboring people and provide for the army according to the quantitative norms.

The above measures must be carried out in a concerted manner to systematically restore the balance between the volume of goods and the volume of money in circulation with the aim of solving the key issue — that of gradually reducing and proceeding toward stopping inflation. This is the basis for reducing the rate of price increases and advancing toward stabilizing prices and the purchasing power of money in order to alleviate difficulties and gradually stabilize the living conditions of the laboring people — wage earners first of all.

Along this course, the sixth party Central Committee must guide and come up with early decisions on various specific policies and must direct various echelons and sectors to scrupulously comply with these policies and to attain good changes at all costs in a given period.

Fifth, it is necessary to work out and direct the implementation of various social policies in a practical and effective manner. Social policies must be aimed at developing all human capabilities and must regard the service of mankind as the highest objective. Taking social policies lightly [coi nhe] also amounts to taking human factors lightly in the cause of socialist construction and national defense. Ensuring employment for the laboring people, especially those in cities, and for youths constitutes the foremost socioeconomic task. In the years to come, the state must strive to create more jobs and formulate a policy to enable the laboring people to create legitimate employment for themselves, carry out the rational division and distribution of labor in each area and on the national scale, promulgate and enforce the labor law, strive to reduce the population growth rate to 1.7 percent by 1990, realize social equality in a way compatible with the actual conditions, ensure social safety, promptly restore order and discipline in all aspects of the social life, carry out the motto of living and working according to the law, severely punishing those elements engaged in illicit business, improving the quality of education aimed at shaping up and bringing into comprehensive play the socialist behavior of the younger generation, turn out a contingent of educated, technical, disciplined, and creative workers whose professional skills suit the demands for the division of social labor.



It is necessary to continue to develop and improve the quality of various cultural, literary, and artistic activities in trying to build a socialist cultural, literary, and artistic sector profoundly characterized by traditional qualities. We must expand the network and improve the quality of public health, physical education, and sports activities, especially at the infrastructure, and must meet in a more satisfactory manner the people's health care requirements. We must carry out satisfactorily the policy toward disabled soldiers, the families of fallen heroes, the families of frontline cadres and combatants, those families having meritorious services with the revolution, and those retired workers and civil servants. We must formulate and implement gradually the socialist social welfare policy toward the entire people in accordance with the motto: The state and the people work together.

Regarding workers and civil servants, we must come up with a rational wage system and necessary social welfare measures to ensure the material and cultural life of the laboring people and their families. As for workers, we must resolve satisfactorily the relations between the rights and duties of making contributions to the country, examine those policies having to do with peasants, and abolishing those policies which are inappropriate. With regard to the intellectuals, what is most important is to evaluate precisely their abilities and to create conditions for the correct use and development of creative ideas.

We must carry out satisfactorily the party's nationalities policy, intensify capital investments in and formulate specific policies on the socioeconomic field in order to develop the mountain region's potential in economic and cultural construction and in the care for the lives of the compatriots of various nationalities.

We must create favorable conditions for those Vietnamese living abroad to build a community solidarity bloc so they can blend into the societies in which they live while maintaining close relations and attachments with their homeland and making ever-greater contributions to national construction.

Sixth, we must strengthen the national defense and security capabilities, develop the strength of the entire system of dictatorship by the proletariat, combine closely the economy with national defense and vice versa, step up the task of building all-people national defense and the People's Armed Forces, and making the rear increasingly steadfast, educate a sense of national defense for the entire people, build into the People's Army standardization and modernization, build the self-defense militia and the reserve forces, build the array of the people's war, scrupulously implement the law on military service and various policies on the army's rear, enhancing the organization for defending the sovereignty and firmly safeguarding various borderlines, the airspace, territorial waters, and off-shore islands, build and consolidate the border defense corps to make it more steadfast, care for the spiritual and material life of troops, increasing the fine relationship between the army and the people.

The task of maintaining political security and social order and safety must be carried out by using the strength of all forces and exploiting all essential facilities at each locality and at all units. We must build a pure, firm, and strong public security force -- a force that firmly wins the masses' confidence, enhances increasingly high professional skills, and maintains its absolute faithfulness to the fatherland and the people. We must organize the mass movement to defend the fatherland's security; strengthen enterprises, organizations, and so forth; maintain safety for all suburbs, villages, precincts, and districts; and establish safety zones and lines in localities. We must make our organization pure and strong from within, oppose and deal with the enemy's acts of sabotage against our economic, political, ideological, and



cultural fields, as well as their espionage activities. We must develop the role and leadership effectiveness of our party, concretize the party lines and policies on national defense and security. Various echelons of the party committees and administrations must firmly grasp and seriously supervise the implementation of defense and security tasks. They must hold that these are their important and regular tasks.

Seventh, intensify activities in the field of foreign affairs, combine the strength of the nation with the strength of the era, for the sake of the national cause and international duties struggle to firmly maintain peace in Indochina, contribute to preserving peace in Southeast Asia, Asia, the Pacific, and the world; oppose the policies of imperialist circles which conduct the arms race and cause the nuclear war threat; secure favorable international conditions for socialist construction and national defense; develop and consolidate the special relations among the three countries of Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia; unite and respect the independence and sovereignty of each country; maintain comprehensive cooperation assistance in national construction and defense; maintain solidarity and all-round cooperation with the Soviet Union, the cornerstone in the foreign policy of our party and state; develop the relations of friendship and cooperation with other fraternal socialist countries; help strengthen the force and promote the influence of the socialist community; strengthen solidarity of the international communist and workers movement on the basis of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism; consolidate cooperation among fraternal parties in the struggle for peace, national independence, democracy, and socialism; expand the relations with international organizations; strongly support the struggle movement for national liberation and independence; oppose imperialism, colonialism, and racism; expand the relations with all other countries on the principles of peaceful coexistence and in the spirit of equality; promote independence, sovereignty, and mutual respect; be ready to hold talks to resolve problems related to Sino-Vietnamese relations; normalize relations and restore friendship between the two countries in the interests of the peoples of the two countries and for the sake of peace in Southeast Asia and in the rest of the world.

Eighth, we must develop the laboring people's collective mastery and improve the managerial efficiency of the socialist state. Under the party leadership, we must consolidate and develop the role of the Vietnam Fatherland Front and other mass organizations, especially trade unions; the communist youth union; the women's union; collective peasants' association; and so forth. We must renovate the essence of the work methods of various mass organizations with efforts directed vigorously toward the infrastructure, trying to rally a large number of the people into various revolutionary movements. We must build the ranks of the working class and collective peasants and the socialist intelligentsia, consolidate the worker-peasant alliance, and take care to educate the younger generation. We must strengthen the all-people unity bloc, achieve unity among various ethnic peoples and religions, realize socialist democracy, respect and guarantee citizen rights, and guard against the bad practice of bureaucracy and officialism and against the coercion of the masses in the leadership and management apparatus at all levels. We must carry out systematically the motto: The people know, the people discuss, the people do, the people supervise. All for the people and by the people. We must mobilize and organize the masses to participate in socioeconomic management and in various economic reform activities. Through the emulation movement for socioeconomic development, we must train and forge new men, build new labor collectives, and discover and train more talented people. We must improve the managerial efficiency of the state; uphold the position and role of the National Assembly and the people's councils at all levels; and create conditions for various people-elected organs to exercise correctly their functions, duties, and authority as provided for in the constitution. We must strengthen socialist legislation and must

manage the society by law. We must delineate clearly the duties, authority, and responsibilities of state organs at each echelon in accordance with the principle of democratic centralism. We must differentiate clearly between the functions of economic financial management and those of production and business management and must link management according to sector with management according to regional and territorial division. We must reorganize the state management apparatus along the line of making it sophisticated, tidy, and capable of institutionalizing party policy lines into law and specific policies. We must build and organize all state plans; manage and direct effectively all socioeconomic activities; and maintain firmly the law, discipline, and social order and safety.

Ninth, we must truly bring the party up to the level required of it as a ruling party with the heavy responsibility of leading the entire people to implement the two strategic tasks. Making the party steady politically, ideologically, and organizationally is a decisive factor for the growth of our country's revolution. The main targets of ideological work are to rejuvenate the way of thinking in all fields of activity of the party and the state, especially to rejuvenate economic thinking; to improve the revolutionary qualities of party cadres and members, foster their patriotism, their love for socialism, and their proletarian internationalism; arouse the masses' revolutionary determination; rejuvenate the party's organizational and cadre work, rejuvenate its workstyle; firmly maintain various organizational and operational principles within the party; improve the qualities of party members; be determined to remove from the party those no longer qualified for party membership; improve the combat strength of various grass-roots-level party organizations; democratize cadre work, regularly conduct the evaluation, selection, and assignments of cadres in conjunction with efforts to forge them through training and realistic activities in order to have a contingent of qualified cadres meeting the standards and qualities of leadership and management skills; pay attention to rejuvenating the contingent of cadres and preparing a contingent of succession cadres; exercise scrupulously the principle of democratic centralism in party activities, improve the quality of the activities of various party committee echelons; and step up criticism and self-criticism to make it become truly the evolutionary law of the party and a yardstick to measure the level of democratic activities within the party and the sense of responsibility of the party toward the people.

In intensifying the party's education and supervisory work, party members must think about doing something for the sake of the communist ideal and for the benefit of the revolution and about guarding against opportunism under all forms, against individualism and a desire for social titles and personal gains, and against corruption and a desire for special prerogatives and privileges. Those party cadres and members failing to care for the interests of the people while concerning themselves only with seeking their personal gains will no longer deserve standing within the party ranks. We must enhance political, ideological, and organizational unity and single-mindedness on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist school of ideology and the party lines and viewpoints. We must attentively care to preserve the unity among various party leadership organs and, on this basis, strengthen the unity within the entire party, and preserve the unity and single-mindedness within the party as we do the apple of our own eyes.

The party Central Committee must go ahead with building a perfect program of activity for the entire socialist revolution for the period of transition to socialism and with building socioeconomic and scientific-technical development strategies. This program of activity must reflect the wisdom of our entire party and people and must be presented at the Seventh CPV Congress.

Tenth, we must improve the effectiveness of guidance and supervision. Proceeding from the requirements for fully implementing all the tasks set forth by the congress, the sixth party Central Committee must take drastic measures to improve the effectiveness of guiding and supervising the party and state apparatus. The most important things that need to be firmly grasped are:

- promptly formulating and promulgating various specific policies, especially economic policies;
- perfecting the apparatus from the central down to the grass-roots level to suit requirements arising from the new tasks;
- assigning competent and qualified cadres capable of fulfilling their assigned missions;
- establishing order and discipline in socioeconomic activities; and
- generating a strong and continuous mass movement for revolutionary action.

The party Central Committee must direct the launching among the entire party and society of a drive to purify and improve the combative strength of various party organizations, to purify and improve the managerial effectiveness of the state apparatus, dispel with all negative phenomena, make all social relations healthy, and realize social equality.

The Sixth CPV Congress demonstrated the party's determination to uphold the Marxist-Leninist banner, march along the path charted by President Ho Chi Minh, and motivate the entire party, people, and Army to do their utmost for the sake of independence, freedom, and socialism.

The Vietnamese Communists are determined to stand in the forefront of this glorious revolutionary cause.

The congress called on the entire party, people, and Army to unite closely around the party Central Committee, strive to develop achievements gained, and struggle stalwartly to overcome all difficulties and ordeals in translating this party resolution into reality and in making improvements in all aspects of socioeconomic life.

As 1990 is the year in which we will celebrate the 60th anniversary of the CPV, the 45th anniversary of the SRV, and the 100th birth anniversary of great President Ho Chi Minh, let us press for a seething movement of revolutionary action throughout the country and an emulation drive in fulfilling the 1986-90 5-Year Plan in order to score still greater successes for our revolutionary cause. All for the socialist fatherland and for the people's happiness.  
[applause]

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CSO: 4209/396

**SENIOR GENERAL LE DUC ANH, MILITARY PARTY DELEGATION**

**BK190701 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1400 GMT 17 Dec 86**

[**"Full Text"** of report presented by Senior General Le Duc Anh, head of the military party organization delegation, at the 15 December afternoon session of the Sixth National CPV Congress entitled: **"The VPA pledges to be always worthy of a reliable tool of the party and the state and to firmly maintain and uphold the reputation as Uncle Ho's soldiers"** -- read by announcer]

[**Text**] Dear comrade delegates, dear distinguished guests: First, on behalf of all party members, cadres, combatants, workers, and civil servants of the national defense sector, I warmly welcome the congress and express my total identity of views with the Political Report presented to the congress by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh in the same name of the party Central Committee.

Reflecting the unity of minds of the entire party and people and being imbued with the profound sense of renovation and vigorous advancement, the report marked a significant step of development of our party, responded to the aspirations of the compatriots and combatants nationwide, and suited the requirements of our time.

All of the Armed Forces are convinced that this congress will further strengthen the unity and single-mindedness of our entire party and people on the basis of those lessons of experience learned recently, and improve the party's comprehensive leadership skills, thereby generating a new strength for it to overcome difficulties and ordeals in gradually stabilizing the situation and enabling the country to make continuous headway.

Allow me to speak further on my opinions about the national defense task:

Carrying out President Ho Chi Minh's teaching, **"Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom,"** after having gone through many years of struggle full of hardships and sacrifices, our Army and people scored a great victory in the anti-U.S. resistance for national salvation. After completing the task of national liberation and unification, our people have had no desire other than being allowed to live in peace, independence, and freedom in order to rebuild their country and their lives. The entire people and Army have enthusiastically joined hands in embarking on the task of national construction in compliance with Uncle Ho's testament, **"Remain united to strive to build a peaceful, unified, independent, democratic, prosperous, and powerful Vietnam and to make worthy contributions to the world revolution."** Nevertheless, the situation has not developed in the way we like. The hegemonist and expansionist forces have, in collusion with the U.S. imperialists and international reactionaries, striven



to sabotage the peaceful labor life of our people and prevent our nation's advancement. They have pushed their Pol Pot henchmen to wage a war of aggression at our country's southwestern border and have then sent their troops to directly invade our country's northern border. Having just been released from a long, hard war of resistance, our Army and people have been forced to take up arms again to fight for the defense of their beloved fatherland and to help save the Cambodian people from the genocidal catastrophe. Failing in their attempt, the enemy forces have shifted to conducting a multifaceted war of sabotage and a land-grabbing border war against Vietnam. They have intensively sabotaged the rebirth of the Cambodian people and resorted to every possible means to oppose and sabotage the Lao revolution.

The Fifth CPV Congress clearly described our country's situation as, though enjoying peace, having had to cope with the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage and, at the same time, to remain ready to cope with a possible large-scale enemy war of aggression. The congress also asserted the two strategic tasks of our country's socialist revolution. In compliance with the resolution of this congress, our Army and people have scored many new, great successes in their fight for national defense and in the carrying out of their international obligations.

Facts obtained in the past show that in light of the current complex international situation and faced with the new turning point of the revolution, our party has remained alert in evaluating the situation correctly and in promptly detecting new strategic schemes of the enemies of all stripes in order to take appropriate strategic-countermeasures. These facts also demonstrate a lesson of experience learned by our party in staying close to realities and in understanding and acting according to the rules in the cause of national defense.

Defending the fatherland is a sacred duty. Faced with the hostile schemes and policies of the U.S. imperialists and other international reactionary forces, our entire party, Army, and people are required to maintain constant vigilance and to be ready to foil all the enemy's sabotage and land-grabbing schemes and actions and to be ready to cope with all contingencies.

To achieve this aim, we must have a strong personnel strength and must make our country strong in all respects to cope with all situations.

Dear comrades: The great successes in national defense scored in the past belong to our entire party, Army, and people. These successes, inseparable from those in national construction, are the successes of the integrated strength of the entire system of dictatorship by the proletariat in the cause of national defense. These are also the successes of the special Vietnamese-Lao-Cambodian alliance, of the great and effective Soviet assistance as part of the alliance and all-round cooperation between Vietnam and the Soviet Union, of the support and assistance given by other fraternal socialist countries, and of the sympathy and support given by various friendly countries and by the progressive world.

The successes scored at the frontline have been made possible thanks to the decisive support of the rear. From this forum, I would like to express our profound gratitude to the party organizations, the administrations, and the people of various nationalities throughout the nation as well as to the various sectors and mass organizations for their great contributions to the cause of defending the fatherland and building the Armed Forces.

In order to create a solid and long-lasting national defense strength, our great, long-standing lesson is that we must always combine national construction with national defense as well as economic construction with national defense and vice versa. We must concentrate on building the economy while paying attention to consolidating national defense. Building the economy and socialism amounts to creating an ever-greater national defense potential and to making the country gradually more prosperous and powerful. As Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh already pointed out in the all-Army party organization congress: It is necessary to thoroughly understand the party's concepts about people's war and all-people national defense and to carry out the motto: All the people build the country while defending the fatherland. All the army defends the fatherland while building the country.

We must take care to develop and foster the people's strength, strive to struggle to gradually stabilize and improve the material and cultural life of the people, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, enhance the political and spiritual unity among the people, and from this, bolster the national defense strength. Taking care to build the rear constitutes a factor that generally decides the victory in a war.

Dear comrades: The successes scored in the past difficult and complex situation show that the revolutionary nature and the glorious tradition of the VPA have continued to be maintained and developed. Meanwhile, we have also realized what aspects we are still weak in and what negative phenomena may have weakened the Army's strength.

These weaknesses, though partly generated by the general difficulties of our national socioeconomy, are due chiefly to the shortcomings of party cadres and members, especially of leadership and command cadres at various echelons in the Army.

Through the self-criticism and criticism drive and through the holding of party organization congresses at various levels, we have become all the more aware of the strong points, shortcomings, and weaknesses of party cadres and members. And now we are actively seeking ways to develop our strong points and overcome our shortcomings in order to improve constantly the qualities of various units and of the entire three categories of forces of the People's Armed Forces.

With our Army having the tradition of maintaining unity and single-mindedness, remaining united around the party Central Committee, being absolutely loyal to the party leadership, and maintaining internal unity and the Army-people solidarity, it is profoundly realized by cadres and combatants of the VPA that developing their fine tradition is a particularly important factor for increasing the Army's strength.

In getting to understand thoroughly the party's demand for all-round renovation in the field of national defense, we must firmly grasp the party's military lines during the period of national construction and defense. We must continue to substantiate and apply creatively these lines and must surge forward to resolve promptly those new problems arising in the cause of national defense in keeping with the country's historical conditions.

Dear comrades: Our country has gone through many extremely painful ordeals over the years. Today, the enemy still does not want to leave us in peace. In each stage of each advance, despite the advantages, our revolution still encounters no fewer difficulties. However, we are not wavering. With firm confidence in the decisive success of the congress, the People's Armed Forces pledge to implement thoroughly the congress resolution and, together with all of their comrades and compatriots, fulfill successfully the task of firmly defending the socialist fatherland and other tasks entrusted by the party.

The Vietnam People's Army pledges to remain always worthy of being a reliable tool of the party and state. Firmly maintaining and upholding the title of Uncle Ho's soldiers, our entire Army is determined to keep Uncle Ho's teachings — be loyal to the country and party and filial to the people; be ready to fight and sacrifice for the independence and freedom of the fatherland and for the sake of socialism; and be able to fulfill all assigned missions, overcome all difficulties, and defeat all enemies — shining and alive forever.

I wish the congress fine success.

I wish the presidium good health.

I wish all distinguished guests and beloved delegates good health.

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CSO: 4209/396

## LE BINH, FIRST BLOC OF CENTRAL ORGAN PARTY ORGANIZATION

BK120759 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 23 Dec 86 p 3

["Excerpts" from speech by Le Binh, delegate from the party organization of the first bloc of central organs, at the Sixth CPV Congress — date not given]

[Text] During the past period, especially since 1983, the district building task initially scored satisfactory results. What are the new and striking features of this task, especially in more than 150 fairly good and progressive districts?

First of all, through formulating and supplementing the socioeconomic general plan, all districts — to a different degree — have initially and firmly grasped their potentials in labor, land, forests, and other natural resources. Using the zoning plan of the central government's economic areas as their basis, various provinces and districts have formulated their general plans to take measures to exploit initially their potentials and develop their strengths. Thanks to this effort, many districts which had little chance to surge forward during the past years can now exploit their capabilities to bring prosperity to their localities and contribute to building the nation.

Many districts have obtained initial results in formulating and deciding on a plan. By means of carrying out comprehensive agricultural development and achieving a close combination between agriculture, forestry, and fishery on the one hand and industry, small industry, and handicraft on the other, and between production and circulation in order to embark on exploiting its latent potentials, every district has found itself capable of creating its initial capital. Relying on this capital and on the motto of achieving combination between the central and local levels, and the state and the localities' working together, every district has found that it can start a new mode of business, relying on its own capabilities.

At present, a number of localities are creating their initial capital by buying goods and then reselling, making a profit on the price differences. But one they have obtained the capital, they have not concentrated on investing it in production. This is an erroneous step. Other districts have proceeded from creating capital through stepped-up production to concentrating capital on stepping up production. This is the correct way and it is the way that many districts have been able to effect changes for the better. This is a new factor and a visible result of district building. Developing this new factor will make it possible for districts to implement satisfactorily the three targeted programs outlined at the sixth congress.



Through reviewing the Central Committee's general plan for economic zones, in 410 districts we found that by 1990 grain production may reach over 23 million metric tons; areas for short- and long-term industrial crops, 2 million hectares; export goods value, from 1 to 1.2 billion rubles, dollars, and so forth. Although targets to be attained by 1990 may be adjusted, various districts realized that planned measures and construction projects for production are essential. In order to be able to execute these measures and projects, each district must have an investment-oriented capital totaling roughly 100 million dong -- estimated according to the 1982 fixed cost. Thus, 428 [as published] districts will need a total of over 42 billion dong. This is the amount of capital to be further invested by districts if they are to help develop the effect of investments made by the central government and by their respective provinces. This amount must not be included in the total amount of investment-oriented capital for 1986-90.

Facts obtained in various districts show that with a correct policy and knowing how to organize things satisfactorily, all districts can achieve this aim. Van Chan District of Hoang Lien Son Province -- the district a few years ago succeeded in accepting 7,000 laborers to work on 4,000 hectares of tea -- now has an annual average tea output of 2.5 metric tons per hectare. It is striving to achieve its target of putting 7,500 hectares under tea. The typical tea output of each production unit in the district is 12 metric tons per hectare. However, in recent years tea productivity in the district has shown a slow decrease.

While the central government and the parent province do not have conditions for increasing capital investment, the district, with its fund of grain and its capital still available, dared not concentrate their capital investment in tea production. This is because the district would not be allowed to enjoy the amount of tea produced above the quota. It is not that the district has been too mindful of its parochial gains but it is chiefly because of the fact that the district had a fear of making any further capital investment, for if it did so it would not be allowed to benefit in any way. The district requests that the central government and its parent province allow the delivery of products according to the amount of capital and materials invested. As for the amount of remaining products, the district may make further delivery if higher echelons have an acceptable policy. Otherwise, the district must be authorized to put up these remaining products for barter trade or for export.

If the output of 4,000 hectares of tea in Van Chan would soon increase from 2.5 to 4 or 5 metric tons, the situation would increase considerably, and the district would have more products with which to obtain capital and materials, and efforts to achieve the target for planting 7,500 hectares of tea would be further increased. Thanks to capital investment and assistance provided by its parent province and by the central government and also thanks to its own efforts, Long Phu District of Hau Giang Province succeeded in increasing its grain output from 85,000 metric tons in 1980 to 160,000 metric tons in 1985 and 196,000 metric tons in 1986. It is creating for itself a number of new conditions for attaining 280,000 metric tons in 1990.

We regard this as a way to accumulate and gather capital from the grass roots upward by means of having districts make more investment in creating new productivity and new revenue. The amount of capital invested by the central government and by the provinces concerned, plus the amount of capital invested by districts and by grass-roots units will make the total amount of capital investment larger with which to implement successfully the 1986-90 state plan.

This is also a way to increase the country's total fund of materials which is now still limited. This is because the capital of a district is precisely the amount of above-quota products. If these products are exported to allow for the import of more machinery, supplies, raw materials, we will obtain more capital from the district in addition to that to be provided as planned by the province concerned and by the central government.

Regarding import-export, if the central government satisfactorily organizes services for import and export of above-quota products for various districts and specifies that it cannot export products bought from other localities, this will help prevent the dispersion phenomenon.

Regarding production and supply of machinery and equipment at home, the industrial sector should, besides its own capability, rely on more capital from the districts, including their foreign currencies, to increase production output, thereby creating favorable conditions for provincial and central industrial sectors to develop and serve the nation more effectively.

Regarding planning, with a view to ensure a comprehensive integration of tasks and development of democracy all sources of investments, materials, and machinery of provinces and the central government as well as investments of districts, joint ventures at home, import-export goods volumes, procured products, and the volume of goods for consumption, must be listed in the unified plan for districts.

Advancing from small-scale production at a time when our industry is still weak and our state capital is still small, we have no choice but to strengthen coordination from the higher to lower levels and vice versa. The key position of the district is that it is a base for advancing from the lower level, a base for integrating the state capability and strength with those of the people, and a base for implementing the task of gradually bringing agriculture to large-scale socialist production.

After over 10 years of working while drawing on experience, the building of the district model in our country has developed in the following areas:

First, our districts have enjoyed the close combination between agriculture, forestry, fishery, industry, small industry, and handicraft, and between production and circulation and service support in accordance with territorial division. This will make it possible for them to form an economic structure, the core of which is the agro-industrial structure, in conformity with the conditions in each locality and as part of the program and plan for general relations between sectors and localities throughout the country. Associated with the economic structure are the requirements for promoting comprehensive development in education, public health, culture, social welfare, public security, and national defense.

Second, our districts are being built in the close relationship between districts and the grass roots. In building districts, we must develop the basic units' right to autonomy in production and business and organize the cooperation between basic units and other economic components in order to build districts from the grass roots upward while empowering the administrative and economic management functions of the district level and increasing the material-technical conditions and the budget of the district level so that it can become a state-level entity capable of directly influencing the grass roots.

Third, our districts are a level that carries out comprehensive planning and has its own budget and is self-governing in handling production and circulation and in caring for the people's lives.

Fourth, our districts are placed under comprehensive administrative and socioeconomic management by district people's committees and the management mechanism is organized according to the principle of establishing management according to sectors and echelons.

With the four points cited above, the district model in our country is unlike the union of agro-industrial enterprises in other fraternal socialist countries; we do not have similar conditions. This is a creative and appropriate model which is becoming a new vivid factor in realistic activities. In light of the congress resolution, it is certain that these points will be carried out with good quality and in a comprehensive manner.

District building is a new task with comprehensive details and is relating to many aspects and sectors from the central to grass-roots levels. In reality, this task is also an important planned program which is included in the cause of building the large-scale socialist production system. As a result, in order to strengthen supervision and implementation of this task, we must on the one hand develop the regular functions of each province and sector, while on the other hand, strive to strengthen organization and coordination between higher and lower levels to carry out programs and plans in a comprehensive manner. During the past several years, the district building task has scored satisfactory results; this was due to the direct supervision of the party Central Committee Secretariat and the Council of Ministers. It was also due to the fact that various districts have developed their dynamic and creative spirit, while sectors and provinces have closely coordinated in carrying out various tasks in a uniform manner. These are the methods for organizing and supervising tasks in accordance with the current requirements. We should draw on experience from these methods to accelerate the district building task in the years ahead.

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LE DUC BINH, HAI HUNG PROVINCE DELEGATION

BK091110 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 3

["Excerpt" of speech by Le Duc Binh, member of the CPV Central Committee and delegate from Hai Hung Province, at the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] Based on the actual situation in Hai Hung Province, I would like to present some views on the cadre issue. First of all, I fully agree with the policy of renovating cadres as outlined in the Political Report. We realize that in the process of comprehensive renovation, renovating cadres is a vital task that is closely related with and bears a reciprocal impact on the renovation of thinking, organization, and behavior. If cadres are always the decisive factor in the organization and implementation of policies and lines, renovating cadres can be said to be a decisive factor in successfully implementing the process of renovating party leadership over the socioeconomic tasks.

Renovating cadres must begin with the renovation of thinking about the cadre task. Evidently, it should be asserted continually that revolutionary quality and work ability remain the fundamental standards for cadres. This cannot be changed. What should be changed is knowledge about the specific content of our quality and ability in the face of the current revolutionary situation and tasks. The quality and ability of cadres at this time must be primarily reflected by their unanimous agreement with and their profound understanding of the party's new socioeconomic viewpoints, their new thinking, their sensitivity to new things, their courage and determination to struggle for renovation, their correct work behavior, their ability to organize implementation, and their positive and effective contributions to changing the socioeconomic situation.

Some effort has been exerted thus far in Hai Hung Province to assign cadres along this line. We realize that we must continue to struggle vigorously in order to overcome old-fashioned and conservative viewpoints on the cadre task. Having worked long under the conditions of bureaucratic centralism and subsidization, some cadres have become affected by the habit of passivity and dependence, and by fear of responsibility. Although their work efficiency is low but smooth [trông trơn] and their performance does not conflict with anybody, the cadres are considered reliable and good. On the contrary, some other cadres who have firmly grasped and dynamically and creatively applied the party lines, boldly thought and acted to conduct effectively production and business, but, in the course of fumbling for ways to remove difficulties, committed some errors and shortcomings, not only have received no sympathy or assistance, but have also been criticized and attacked and sometimes been placed under strict demoralizing control and inspection.



Moreover, while stressing the quality and ability relevant to the requirements of the new management mechanism, some cases of superficial and simplistic consideration in cadre placement have also been noted. Some cadres have appeared to be dynamic and resourceful in getting additional materials for production and delivering more money to the local budget by profiting from the differences of prices, but actually behind their work are acts of corruption, under-the-counter dealings, and inconsiderate transactions at variance with policies and laws, all of which have caused great harm to the interests of the state and the people. These types of cadres have been at times overtrusted and employed without any consideration of their revolutionary qualities and ethics. Some other good cadres have degenerated gradually because they have not been supervised and given timely advice. In the course of shifting to the new management mechanism, while developing the dynamism and initiative of each grass-roots unit and each locality, we should necessarily intensify the cadre management task to supervise and promptly assist deviant cadres in correcting themselves.

Localism and departmentalism, together with individualism, pose an obstacle to the renovation of cadres. In assigning and promoting cadres, some people have raised as the primary requirement keeping "harmonious balances" among the various regions by confining the action within each sector and each locality; and when there are no qualified cadres locally, they still do not want to accept cadres from other localities. Fear of conflict over such issues has led to concession and a non-committal attitude in the face of such erroneous tendency. In our party, the working class' vanguard party, cadre assignment must proceed completely from the interests of the revolution and the requirements of guaranteeing the implementation of the political duty and must be based on the quality and ability of cadres. It is definitively impossible to accept discrimination against localities and the origin of cadres.

To implement well the policy of renovating cadres, there should be a correct viewpoint on the issue of senior, new, old, and young cadres. In our party and particularly in the party organization of Hai Hung Province, some senior cadres, though old, still have a fresh young mind. They are dynamic, open to, and supportive of the new things. They take the lead in the struggle for new things. The role and work of these cadres should be continually developed. Moreover, in the course of shifting to the new management mechanism, promoting the autonomy of production and business units, and decentralizing management authority to localities, many new, young, dynamic, creative, and efficient cadres have emerged. We should overcome the narrow-minded and feudalistic viewpoint on young cadres, boldly employ and promote them, and create conditions for them to mature in order to ensure the continuity and successiveness of leading agencies. The important thing is to accurately examine and evaluate cadres and realistically renovate cadres and not do it for the sake of formality nor by simplistically considering their ages.

The policy of renovating cadres must be implemented positively and resolutely and, at the same time steadily step by step. It cannot be carried out hastily out of impatience. Renovating cadres is a process closely connected with the process of renovating the management mechanism and socioeconomic leadership. In the course of renovating socioeconomic leadership, many cadres will mature, many abilities will emerge, and the evaluation of cadres will rest on a more definite basis which creates more favorable conditions for renovating cadres.

Moreover, renovating cadres does not simply mean replacing people. Another more important point in this matter is to retrain and give cadres new knowledge, new ability, and new thinking, and to enable the contingents of cadres — senior, new, old,

and young -- to surge forward to the level of the new revolutionary task. Our party organization of Hai Hung Province will attentively educate cadres to make them firmly grasp the resolution of this congress. We will better train them comprehensively, especially in economic management, while stressing the need to review and learn from the experiences of advanced models. On this basis, we will create conditions for the cadres to renovate continually their thinking and ability and to fulfill satisfactorily their assigned duties. We will pay more attention to perfecting the contingents of management cadres in production and business installations in both the state-run and collective domains, emphasize basic and advanced training, formulate better policies toward cadres of villages and cooperatives, and assign more provincial and district cadres to grass-roots units.

Just as the Political Report has pointed out, the formation of a contingent of successor cadres is currently a permanent and urgent task. In the past years, Hai Hung Province has attentively formulated cadres plans and has achieved some definite results. However, as planning has not been sufficiently good, uniform, and regular, the assignment of cadres still remains difficult and patchy. The leading agencies of some sectors, districts, and towns should be perfected but manpower is not available.

At present, after the congresses at all levels have been completed, we are rearranging the contingents of leading cadres to meet the immediate requirements. At the same time, we plan to promptly begin the formulation of a leading cadre plan in order to prepare cadres for taking over the leading positions of the next party committee terms at the provincial, district, and grass-roots levels. We are not short of cadres. We are convinced that once the responsibilities of leading cadres are clearly defined and democracy is expanded to collect the views and recommendations from subordinates and the masses, we will be fully able to select many meritorious cadres to be successors.

Due to its decisive importance, the cadre task must be personally assumed by the key leaders of various sectors at all levels. It cannot be totally entrusted to subordinate agencies. At the same time, the principle of collective action must be observed in making decisions about cadres. With respect to the evaluation and assignment of cadres, there are usually many differing views. If decisions are made individually, it is difficult to avoid mistakes. This is a cause of internal disunity in some localities.

The cadre task must be better democratized. The party chapters of various agencies, subordinate cadres, and the masses must be authorized to give their views and observations and to select their own leaders before the higher echelons decide the appointment. The assessment of good points and shortcomings of cadres, and the projected assignment and reassignment of cadres' duties must also be made democratically and openly with the cadres involved.

Facts have shown that those party committee echelons who have been democratically selected and elected in the congresses at all levels, usually can be renovated more quickly and vigorously. As for those cadres appointed to various sectors by higher echelons normally they can be renovated somewhat more slowly. In our view, the cause of such a situation is that the elections of party committee echelons follow a democratic pattern while the appointment of cadres has not been made in such a way. If the cadre task can be carried out democratically, the assessment of cadres will become more accurate and objective, and the decisions made by higher echelons will become more effective owing to the support of subordinate cadres and party members. Consequently, democratizing the cadre task will certainly create better conditions for renovating cadres.

NGUYEN THANH BINH, HANOI MUNICIPAL DELEGATION

BK180647 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 0000 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Report by Nguyen Thanh Binh, secretary of Hanoi Municipal Party Committee and head of the Hanoi Municipal Party Organization delegation to the Sixth CPV Congress, delivered at the 15 December afternoon session of the congress -- recorded]

[Text] Dear presidium, dear distinguished guests, dear comrade delegates:

May I represent the party organization and people of the capital in conveying to the presidium, international and domestic guests, and the comrade delegates our warmest greetings. [applause]

We wish to express the enthusiasm of the capital party organization at and their high identity of views with the party Central Committee's Political Report presented by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh at the congress. The Political Report clearly reflects the valiant spirit and high militant character of the party in looking squarely at the truth, clearly speaking out the truth, correctly assessing the socioeconomic reality at present, and on that basis drawing upon important lessons taught by experience. With a creative, innovative spirit, the Political Report lays out sharp strategic guiding thoughts. We are deeply convinced that with the resolutions of this congress, our party will mobilize the entire people to overcome the immediate difficulties quickly, stabilize the socioeconomic situation at an early date, and continue to push our country's revolutionary cause forward.

However, the Political Report and Economic Report still do not advance sufficiently effective measures to solve the most acute socioeconomic issues in the immediate future to satisfy the demands of the people throughout the country toward the party congress. We suggest that the congress make a decision to assign the party Central Committee to establish at any cost, immediately after the congress, a system of policies and measures to ensure unified leadership over the activities of all echelons and sectors throughout the country, striving with the highest degree of determination and greatest efforts to change the actual situation in the country in 1987.

The revolutionary undertaking of our country also demands that the party correctly allot the assignment of cadres, especially leading cadres at various levels and in various sectors, whose quality and ability are in conformity with new thinking and new viewpoints as specified in the Political Report. This is the decisive factor in changing the work style and organizing practical work in an effective manner aimed at translating the congress' resolutions into realities in our social life.

We highly agree with the speech delivered by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh at the 10th congress of the Hanoi party organization. The comrade general secretary noted that the party organization and people of Hanoi have striven to overcome difficulties, surmounted many trials, and scored important achievements. At the same time, however, he also pointed out that the development of the capital is still slow in comparison to its requirements and capabilities, and has yet to meet the expectation of the people in the municipality as well as the people throughout the country.

It is true indeed that in past years, production in the capital has developed slowly; efficiency and product quality still remain all too poor; tens of thousands of people are unemployed; the life of the laboring people, especially cadres, workers, and state employees, is beset with many difficulties; city management reveals many weaknesses; negative phenomena have occurred in a serious manner; and the civilized life-style has declined. This situation is due to objective causes, but the main cause is that many leading cadres of our party organization lack initiative and creativity in implementing party resolutions, especially in the fields of renovating the mechanism of economic management and city management. They are slow in changing their ways of thinking and doing things, and their work style still remains bureaucratic and unrealistic. Party organizations, administrative organs, and mass organizations have made only slow progress in their activities in comparison to the demands of life itself.

In reality, slowness in renovating thinking, renovating conduct, and renovating cadres is hindering efforts to adequately seek effective measures to resolve difficulties and obstacles at each step forward in the process of development. Hanoi has great potentials in many respects as well as favorable conditions denied to many other localities. However, we have not yet been able to bring them into full play to accelerate further the process of transformation and construction in the capital. Therefore, we are not yet able to meet the minimal demands of production and life.

A matter of concern is that we have yet to devise for the capital an appropriate mechanism that ensures the central level's unified and centralized leadership and, at the same time, fully develops the initiatives of the municipal party organization and administration in city leadership and management. We have yet to take the initiative in coordinating with central sectors and other localities in generating an aggregate strength with which to realize the tasks and targets of the capital as pointed out in the Political Bureau's Directive No 8.

Although there are numerous objective difficulties, our subjective shortcomings constitute the main cause; for we realized that regarding the common mistakes and shortcomings of the entire country at present, everyone, every echelon, and every sector must first of all recognize their own specific responsibility to be able to overcome effectively and rapidly the difficulties facing the entire country as well as their own sectors or localities.

Dear comrade delegates, we highly agree on the targets set for the remaining years of the initial stage -- namely stabilizing all aspects of the socio-economic situation and continuing to create the premises necessary for accelerating industrialization in the following stage. Regarding this, we see that it is necessary first of all to stabilize the socioeconomic situation in the capital because the capital is the face of the entire country.



The 10th congress of the Hanoi party organization brought forth two central issues that are both fundamental and pressing for the capital in the years to come -- employment and life.

Regarding employment, on the basis of providing more supplies and energy, it is necessary to increase the rate of equipment capacity usage at production enterprises, which is less than 50 percent at present. Adequate work must be generated for workers by devising and applying policies for stimulating development of production and services so as to generate employment for tens of thousands of the unemployed. It is necessary to make everyone realize that if they create large quantities of products for society by working at cooperatives, private production households, or family-based economic units, and correctly abide by set policies and the law, it is as legitimate as working at state-run enterprises and state organs.

Regarding life, attention must be given to food, clothing, housing, transportation, education, medical care, and cultural activities, with the food problem in the municipality being, however, the main concern. Efforts must be made to ensure at an early date a steady supply of grain, food, and essential consumer goods; to gradually introduce industrially processed food into the mid-shift meals for simplicity and convenience; and then to extend services to other daily meals.

To realize these targets we must resolve a series of complex economic and technical problems. On the basis of the three integrated and targeted programs of the entire country, we will formulate and carry out a number of integrated and targeted programs for the municipality. Our policy is to arrange an economic structure for the capital that encompasses industry, agriculture, services, and external economy. Industry will be reorganized on a priority basis through intensive investments, transformation, standardization, and rapid application of scientific-technological innovations in production, with attention focused on a number of major branches producing export goods and consumer goods which Hanoi has the conditions to develop with high efficiency.

Simultaneously, it is necessary to make full use of our advantage in heavy industry, especially engineering industry, to manufacture machinery and tools for various economic and cultural sectors in the capital as well as in other localities. We encourage the vigorous development of small industry and handicrafts with the emphasis placed on traditional branches and trades and on linking the state-, collective-, and family-run economies with various economic-technical sectors. In agriculture, efforts must be directed at building a food belt. Attention must be paid to bringing soybeans, corn, potatoes, other vegetables, and animal husbandry into vigorous play and producing part of the grain supply in order to meet the requirements of the suburban peasants and also partly those of the nonagricultural people. We must attach great importance to carrying out intensive cultivation and multicropping in order to increase crop output. Support services, both for production and life, will be developed vigorously as they, though being an important economic source, are a sector still fraught with weaknesses in the capital at present.

In the process of economic development, we must constantly consolidate and perfect production relations, improve operational methods, continue struggling against bureaucracy and subsidization, and vigorously switch to the mechanism of planning in accordance with socialist accounting and business methods in order to enable the socialist economy to truly retain a leading role and operate with high efficiency. At

the same time, we must enforce policies to encourage the household economy and individual economy sectors to develop production and service in the correct direction, aimed at mobilizing the strengths of the people to solve the problem of employment for laborers, create more products for society, and stabilize and improve life.

As an industrial center, the capital will expand its economic integration with other localities, especially the northern provinces, in order to exploit the strong position of each locality for mutual replenishment and assistance. We welcome and will create favorable conditions for other provinces and cities to bring in their products for direct circulation on the Hanoi Market.

In the field of foreign economic relations, we will try to vigorously develop the production of export goods and expand economic integration with the capitals of all socialist countries, especially Moscow, in all three domains -- contracts, labor cooperation, and joint business and enterprise between the two sides. We will always give priority to our cooperation with Vientiane and Phnom Penh to help strengthen, foster, and expand comprehensively the special relations among Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia and, at the same time, pay great attention to the contributions of overseas Vietnamese and international organizations in terms of science and investment to the construction of the capital in accordance with state policies and law.

In light of the present situation, the issue of making the party pure and strong and enhancing its militancy, and the issue related to cadres have become decisive factors in ensuring our party's stature as a ruling party which is simultaneously carrying out two strategic tasks. Apart from the common issues concerning party building as specified in the Political Report, our administration and mass organizations are paying attention to party building work at the city ward level, the place where social activities are taking place beside production and other tasks without a suitable form of organization to enable all party members, youth union members, and members of other mass organizations there to develop their leading role and exemplary vanguard character in various social activities of the municipality.

Dear comrade delegates, in the process of preparing for the party congress, a new atmosphere of democracy, discipline, and upholding self-criticism and criticism was restored in party life, and a new way of conduct was satisfactorily initiated at party congresses held at various levels. This has initially met to some degree the desire of the people of all strata and consolidated the masses' confidence in the party leadership. The party organization and people of the capital pledge to do their best to make Hanoi worthy of being the capital of a heroic nation and to make a positive contribution to the common cause of the entire country. My wish for good health to the comrade delegates. Thank you. [applause]

/6091

CSO: 4209/396

NGUYEN THI BINH, QUANG NAM-DANANG PROVINCE DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Dec 86 p 2

[Excerpts from speech by Nguyen Thi Binh, delegate of the Quang Nam-Da Nang party organization, at the Sixth Party Congress: "Renovate Thought on Education, Stress the Human Strategy, Improve the All-Round Quality of Education"]

[Text] On the basis of unanimous agreement with the contents of the Political Report, I would like to present to the Congress some opinions regarding the task of leading the reform of education and enabling general education to be tied in with serving the goals of economic-social construction in the initial phase of the period of transition to socialism in our country.

1. In the process of implementing the resolution on educational reform, during the past 5 years, although results have been limited, the quality of education has begun to undergo a positive transformation and reflect the new development of general education. In the party's leadership of education at the central level and in many localities there have been new advances in thinking about general education, which have led to those initial results. However, in general consciousness of the position and role of general education in economic-social construction, the party resolution is not fully understood, and there are matters which require further clarification by the party. Such incorrect viewpoints as believing that education only serves society, separating economics from education, etc., are still rather widespread. Those incorrect concepts are one of the major impediments which must be removed.

President Ho said that "To build socialism, it is first of all necessary to have socialist people." That is also a viewpoint which was brought up by Marx and Lenin. We think that by speaking simply but profoundly President Ho at an early date pointed out a great truth, a law-like matter that must be fully understood.

The actual situation of educational leadership in our country in the recent period has clearly demonstrated that wherever the party is concerned with developing general education and human development there are solid conditions for doing a good job of fulfilling the economic-social missions.

In sum, for those reasons we recommend that the party affirm even more clearly that the human strategy is the heart of the over-all economic-social strategy, and that general education plays a decisive role in that human strategy and is a dynamic factor which positively affects the three revolutions. On that basis, concern must be shown for developing the socialist man, strengthening leadership of education, and cultivating the young generation and workers to effectively serve the two strategic missions of our country's socialist revolution.

2. In education, the position and role of general education are very great it manifests, by means of its function of training the new man and popularizing education, its two organic and principal contents.

From the point of view of their training function, the goals of general education schools have changed. Instead of training students primarily to prepare them for training as cadres the general education schools, as stated by the Political Report, are responsible for "the formation and all-round development of the socialist personality and for training workers with technical knowledge and well-rounded vocational skills, primarily to meet the requirements of the division of social labor." Vocational education for general school student must be based on ensuring all-round education and combined technical education so that in the future they can continue to study, continually improve their vocational skills, and prepare to "change occupations" in the technical revolution, which is occurring at a rapid rate at present.

As indicated by the Political Report, the training mission requires the reformed general schools rapidly be transformed into schools which teach basic subjects and general technical subjects, provide vocational counseling, and teach trades.

That is law-like matter in the reform of education in our country, and reflects the tendency of modern general education in the world.

So that the general schools can fulfill that mission, we believe that it is necessary to change our outlook with regard to the training goals of the general schools and overcome old viewpoints that are still widespread: studying only academic subjects, aiming toward examinations, and remaining apart from production. There must be a policy to encourage the attainment of that training goal, expand vocational training, and improve the recruitment of students to colleges and advanced schools (except for some truly talented students who are permitted to take examinations immediately, students must spend the required time working).

At the same time, we realize that it is necessary to improve the all-round quality and effectiveness of general education in order to fulfill requirements regarding world world view, politics, and ethics; basic, modern, solid, and practical scientific knowledge; general technology, labor skills, and vocational counseling and training; physical education, national defense, ethics, and civics. In order to fulfill those requirements, it is necessary to concretize the training goals, supplement curricula, write textbooks,



observe the new educational principles and teaching methods, improve the evaluation of examinations, promote the inspection work, etc.

It will be very difficult to attain the training goals of the general schools, so we recommend that under the leadership of the party committee echelons there be close cooperation among the education and economic sectors, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, and the other social forces, if that mission is to be fulfilled well.

With regard to the goal of developing general education, good progress has been made, but there has been subjectivism and impatience. We must fully understand the development of education. As stated by the Political Report, plans to develop education "must ensure the quality and effectiveness of training," and "must be tied in with the economic-social development plans in each locality and on a national scale."

3. In order to fully develop the role of education, attain the training goals, develop general education, gradually advance education, and effectively serve the nation's short-range and long-range economic-social missions, we recommend that there be appropriate investment in building up the ranks of cadres and instructors, and in the schools material bases.

Therefore, we recommended that the party and state encourage good students to enter normal schools, and have an appropriate salary policy for teachers. Because of the nature of the work of general school teachers, years of experience has a very important significance with regard to the quality of education, in addition to a just and rational salary scale there must be a seniority allowance policy to encourage teachers remain in the profession and be concerned with improving their professional skills. That policy is also very much in accord with our people's traditional respect for education.

Furthermore, we recommend that investment be made so that all schools can soon have classrooms which meet specifications, and have sufficient textbooks, equipment, and conditions for teaching technical and vocational subjects, to participate in production labor, and to engage in physical education, sports, cultural, and artistic activities, while also gradually equipping them with such modern equipment as computers, etc., to advance to bringing new scientific knowledge into the general schools.

We recommend that the state quickly codify the slogan of the state and the people working together with regard to education, accompanied by rationally increasing the education budget. It is necessary to stipulate a tuition fee system and system of contributions by production installations and social organizations so that they can work together in preparing production forces for society.

We hope that after the present Congress our party will also renovate its thinking on education and give it a proper place in its human strategy and, above all, stress the cultivation of the socialist man. It must have a policy of investing in general education, be concerned with training and cultivation, do a good job of ensuring the living conditions of teachers, gradually provide

the schools with the necessary material bases and equipment, and strengthen its leadership of education. We ardently recommend that the Party Central Committee, the National Assembly, and the Council of Ministers guide the reform of education and show special concern for the present generation of general school students, who will fulfill the great responsibilities of our country at the end of this century and the first part of the next century.

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CSO: 4209/268

NGUYEN KY CAM, NGHE TINH PROVINCE DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 3

[Excerpts from speech by Nguyen Ky Cam, a delegate of the Nghe Tinh party organization: "Nghe Tinh Will Overcome Difficulties, Bring About a New Transformation in the Economic-Social Situation in Future Years"]

[Text] Applying the correct viewpoints that were set forth by the Fifth Party Congress, since 1981 our province has made progress in reorganizing its economic structure. First of all, it reorganized agricultural production. It has set the task of resolving the grain problem along the lines of comprehensively developing agriculture, gradually entering into specialized cultivation and intensive cultivation according to areas, tying in agricultural production with the production of consumer goods, and promoting exports. That organization of that relatively correct economic structure, along with the implementation of the product contracting mechanism and the application of the accomplishments of the biological revolution in agriculture, the positive and practical development of water conservancy, and increasing the amounts of fertilizer and insecticides for crops, have enabled agricultural production to undergo notable transformations. A province with a large population, including more than 1 million people who are not engaged in agricultural production, and which in the past had a serious grain shortage, within the past few years Nghe Tinh has become essentially self-sufficient in grain within the province, and there has been relatively rapid development in a number of areas specializing in growing industrial crops to provide raw materials for the processing industry and goods for export. Animal husbandry has developed more rapidly than in the past and progress has been made in catching maritime products. During the past 5 years industrial, small industry, and handicraft production has increased by an average of 10.7 percent a year.

These initial results have had a positive effect in furthering the development of production. In general, the lives of the people in the province have gradually become more stable and in some areas, and with regard to some aspects, have improved.

After progress was made in reorganizing the economic structure and appropriately applying some of the specific economic policies promulgated by

the party and state, the production situation underwent a transformation, but in general the province's economy is still at a low level.

On the basis of that actual situation and the initial experience that has been gained, we completely approve the three norm programs presented in the Central Committee's Political Report to the Party Congress.

The recent 12th congress of our party organization also severely criticized the deficiency of the continued slow development of small industry, handicrafts, and industries producing consumer goods and the agricultural, forestry, and maritime products processing industry. The volume and value of export goods are still low and do not yet correspond to the labor and natural resources potential. The yields of the various kinds of crops are still low, and agricultural production, especially grain production, is still unstable. During years in which natural disasters and insects and diseases cause serious damage there are still serious grain shortages. That situation is due to the fact that we have not yet resolutely reorganized production and capital construction, and have not yet set aside sufficient materials and capital for the key programs and for the production bases, which has resulted in low economic effectiveness. We have not yet truly taken the initiative and been dynamic incorrectly utilizing the management mechanism and the appropriate economic policies in order to fully bring into play the economic unit's right of autonomy in production and commerce and a spirit of enthusiasm toward production labor on the part of everyone, in order to continually strengthen the production forces, accompanied by the consolidation and strengthening of socialist production relations and the good use and development of the potential of the other economic components, for the common benefit of socialism. There is still tardiness in quickly introducing scientific-technical advances into production and commerce. Another very important factor is that under certain specific historical conditions our material-technical bases are still too weak and deficient, so many more years of positive efforts by the localities and investment by the central echelon will be required to overcome that problem.

The 12th congress of our party organization set forth a number of policies and methods to effectively overcome those weaknesses and inefficiencies in order to advance the production of grain, food products, consumer goods, and export goods at a more rapid rate during the next 5 years.

On this occasion, our delegation would like to recommend that the state and the central echelons provide more positive assistance for the provinces of the former Zone 4 in order to accelerate the process of economic development in the area, to enable Zone 4, including Nghe Tinh, to make increasingly greater contributions to the nation's common development:

First, the Political Report of the Party Central Committee was very correct in dealing with the development of the strengths of the midlands and mountain regions. The potential of those areas is still, in general, very great. In Nghe Tinh there are many economic installations which are managed by the central sectors but the material bases of which are still very poor. If attention is paid to investment in infrastructure development and to in-depth



investment, it will be possible to create plentiful and stable sources of agricultural and forestry products. At present, the central-echelon organs are still heavily oriented toward guiding exploitation and have not yet paid adequate attention to in-depth investment, which causes economic effectiveness to be low, the economic cycle of short-term industrial crops to be shortened, and the forests to become rapidly depleted. In the economic alliances among the state, collective, and family sectors, the central-level state installations do not yet play the leading role, so it is necessary to approve a policy of alliances with those economic components to create an increasingly larger volume of commodity products to supply to the factories that have been built, such as the Nghia Dan fruit factory, the Anh Son black tea factory, etc., and to create many export agricultural, forestry, and mineral products with high economic value.

The vast midlands and mountainous areas of Nghe Tinh also play very important economic and national defense roles. For our part, we will make all-out efforts to invest in the production installations, but we recommend that the central echelon invest in building a number of important roads, water conservancy projects, installations to process agricultural and forestry products, etc., in order to do economic work, and strengthen national defense potential. Those projects will also have great assistance with regard to the settlement of nearly 300,000 ethnic minority people, only then can we stop the serious deterioration of the ecological environment which is taking place at present; and only then can be capable of enriching our forests.

We recommend that the central echelon increase the amount of electricity supplied to Nghe Tinh (at present, its per capita electricity consumption is about 10 kWh, so difficulties are encountered in both industry and agriculture).

We recommend that the central echelon invest in completing the Cua Lo port in order to quickly develop its effect not only with regard to Nghe Tinh but also a very large area, both in the short range and the long range.

Second, we recommend that the central echelon pay adequate attention to correctly resolving the relationship between the rights and obligations of the localities. The localities must fulfill their obligations toward the central echelon so that it can meet the needs of the nation as a whole and fully keep its international commitments. But at the same time the central echelon must have a rational price policy so that when delivering products to the central echelon they will not suffer losses, as they do now, but earn a profit to achieve expanded reproduction. It must have an insurance policy for areas specializing in growing agricultural products for export, so that when there are serious natural disasters or when international market prices undergo changes, production can be maintained. There must be rewards and punishments for localities which do a good job or do not do a good job. The recent situation of the localities having to use foreign exchange to buy fertilizer, goods and grain to exchange with the peasants for agricultural products to deliver to the central echelon, but the localities not receiving corresponding quantities of materials, which adversely affects the process of expanded reproduction. The localities not only have not accumulated capital but are suffering increasingly larger budget deficits.

Third, with regard to the management and distribution of materials, especially strategic materials, we recommend that each type should be managed and distributed by only one organ according to plan. It is necessary to eliminate the unnecessary intermediate organs and the circuitous flow of materials, which increases circulation expenses, causes additional negativism, and results in low economic effectiveness. In many cases cadres and party members have become corrupted because they have taken advantage of price disparities. It is regrettable that that matter has been criticized many times, and there has even been Party Central Committee and government resolutions, but it has not yet been corrected.

Our delegation believes that under the light of the resolution of the party congress, Nghe Tinh, and the entire nation, will overcome difficulties, bring about a new economic-social transformation in future years, and understand and fully apply the correct viewpoints set forth by the congress.

With a spirit of renovating its thought, especially its economic thought, Nghe Tinh is determined to strive to transform the economic situation, which is still heavily oriented toward self-sufficiency, make notable progress in developing commodity production, and create the new socialist man on the homeland of the Nghe Tinh Soviet and the homeland of our beloved Uncle Ho, to be worthy of the desires of the people and comrades of the entire nation.

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CSO: 4209/252

CU HUY CAN, NGHE TINH PROVINCE DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 4

[Excerpts from speech by Cu Huy Can, delegate from Nghe Tinh provincial party organization: "Develop a New Culture and New Arts and Letters Imbued With National Characteristics"]

[Text] We are building a new culture, new arts and letters, and the new man on the basis of close and essential correlation among three revolutions. In other words, developing a new culture, new arts and letters, and the new man is a constituent part of our socioeconomic structure in which the new culture, new arts and letters, and new man must be both the result and motive power.

We must absolutely build a new culture and new arts and letters with a profound socialist meaning but the question is what must be done to instill national characteristics in our new culture and arts and letters. Glancing back at the remote past, we find that it was precisely our national characteristics and national cultural traits that helped our ancestors uphold their independent and indomitable spirit in order to regain independence and autonomy whenever the opportunity arose, and also to create such opportunities. By maintaining and enriching these national cultural characteristics, our people avoided assimilation by the Chinese feudalists who ruled over our country for almost 1,000 years.

National cultural characteristics are precisely the creative nucleus within the spirit of a nation; they have been handed down from an era to another and developed and reinforced by each generation along with the impetus in national development and the continuously creative lives of the people. During 60 years of domination by the French imperialists and 20 years of aggression in South Vietnam by the U.S. imperialists, our people relied on their strong national cultural characteristics to protect their old moral values and their national culture which the colonialists scorned and tried by all means to destroy and suppress. They tried to smother our national culture because they knew very well that culture was a matter of national and class consciousness and that it reflected an awareness of the destiny of a community or of its individual members.

Today, to build a new socialist culture and new socialist arts and letters imbued with our national cultural characteristics, it is necessary to proceed

from the proper sources. It can be said that there are four springs from which to drink or which merge into a large ocean. First, there is Marxism-Leninism; we must not only study it but must also live according to the Marxist-Leninist doctrine and instill it in our blood, flesh, and souls. We may call it a source or, more precisely, a sun--an immense source of energy which intensifies and freshens up other sources. The second source is the good and splendid cultural, artistic, and literary assets which have been handed down by our forefathers and accumulated in our millenary national cultural traits. The third source is the quintessence of the world culture, arts and letters which we have absorbed little by little because we are also active members of the human community. The fourth source--in counting and not priority order--is the vitality drawn from the present revolutionary life of our people; living and studying and pondering such a life is the decisive factor, the blood and flesh substance of the new culture and arts and letters which is amplified by the aforementioned three sources. Generally speaking, under the party leadership, our new culture and arts and letters have followed this direction during the past few decades, ever since the issuance of the platform on Vietnamese cultural revolution to date. Yet, our weakness lies in the fact that our national cultural, artistic, and literary assets and characteristics have not been really and profoundly instilled in all creative aspects of cultural activities. The research on and preservation of the cultural, artistic, and literary assets of our nation, including those of the fraternal nationalities within the Vietnamese community, were vigorously done during the few decades following the liberation of North Vietnam but have been slowed down recently. Research has dragged on and proven unsystematic. The minds of some cultural, artistic, and literary performers are still haunted by an inferiority complex about our national culture, arts and letters. Concerning our old national moral values, we often mention patriotism, the love for our own race, indomitability, diligence, amenability to reason, love for the beautiful, and behavior based on loyalty and affection. I would like to stress two special traits: first, the nonmetaphysical and nonmystical spirit with regard to realities of life; second, the constant concern about the destiny of human beings and of each individual, coupled with respect and esteem for human beings.

Recently, the good success of "national cultural days" has again reminded us of the invaluable cultural, artistic, and literary assets of our country, of all our fraternal nationalities. By fully exploiting and developing these assets, we will build an inexhaustible thinking and sentimental reserve for ourselves. At present, building the new man means principally building the new social relationships as well as the relationships between individuals and both small and large communities--including national community, class communities, village communities, family communities, and cooperative and enterprise communities. The question is to try to make each individual fully aware of his responsibilities to his own community, and to transform each citizen into an active member of the whole community. Toward this end, our education system and our culture, arts and letters must consider it important to infuse each individual with a clear-cut and strong personality and abilities. Though opposing individualism, we must create conditions for the development of the socialist personality and abilities of each individual. today's



socialism and tomorrow's communism can be built only by the collective of (manual and intellectual) laborers with definite and strong abilities but not by an aggregation of human beings with weak personalities and abilities.

After emerging from the August Revolution, the new Vietnamese has taken shape with ever more prominent features throughout the protracted national liberation war and during the initial stage of socialist construction. In addition to his good and splendid traditional virtues, our new man must fully assimilate other qualities proper to the present era--namely, enduring revolutionary spirit, class friendship, scientific spirit, essential scientific and technological knowledge, alertness to novelties of life, and so on.

Culture, arts and letters play an important role in building and strengthening the national and socialist communities. If, within the meaning of the word "nation," a common culture is considered a constituent factor in the nation, cultural development in the right direction will obviously consolidate the national community, strengthen national unification, and link together various nationalities and all collective members or individuals to form the socialist fatherland and society. Culture, arts and letters can and must effectively help update thinking and behavioral patterns by instilling in every citizen and cadre a sufficient idea of their responsibilities to communities--large and small--as well as the habit (inherited from our forefathers) of keeping in touch with realities without falling into pragmatism, thus being able to discover new things without indulging in conservatism and sluggishness. To ensure satisfactory implementation of the current party congress resolutions, culture, arts and letters must inspire and stimulate the innovative spirit originating from the sense of responsibility and from a scientific analysis of problems arising from life. The sense of responsibility and activeness are extremely important factors in the new, capable man--an energetic member of society.

We must also take care of the cultural life of our compatriots living abroad--that is, of the overseas Vietnamese community. National culture links these emigrant compatriots to their native country, their fatherland. What makes our emigrant compatriots remain Vietnamese is precisely our national culture with its own characteristics. In this respect, our emigrant compatriots have made great demands but, on our part, we have done too little. Because our emigrant compatriots make up a large cultural force, we must assist them and supply them with many cultural products so that the overseas Vietnamese community will really become a segment of our nation and fatherland living in other parts of the world, that this community will remain intimately attached to its ancestral origin, and that it will luxuriantly thrive in remote corners of the world.

We will assimilate the cream of the world culture, arts and letters--first of the culture, arts and letters of the fraternal socialist countries, and especially of the Soviet culture, arts and letters which represent a new cultural, artistic, and literary model for the whole mankind. On the other hand, however, we must systematically present the quintessence of our national culture, arts and letters to the world to enable other countries to better understand us by taking notice of our characteristics. Our

beautiful, unique cultural, artistic, and literary assets will also make a valuable contribution to the cultural, artistic, and literary treasurehouse of mankind. Our nation must raise its own voice and send its own message to mankind. We must admit that we have done this task by fits and starts and that the sending abroad of poor-quality, substandard cultural products has sometimes reflected badly on the prestige of Vietnamese culture, arts and letters. Cultural exchange also stands on an important frontline and thus must be reorganized as soon as possible.

Our party often mentions the need to "build a happy and civilized society." We understand that there must be material and spiritual civilization--that is, culture. It is necessary to mobilize all abilities of the whole man to build the new culture, arts and letters by developing his intellect and his (educated) instinct and by correlating our ancient cultural assets with the present revolutionary lifestyle, and our national characteristics with the proletarian internationalist spirit. And, if properly developed, culture, arts and letters will become a motive power to promote the new society development, and will help shape the new, complete man--one with a profound personality and strong abilities who is positive and dynamic, that is, who deserves to be a member of our changing society.

9332/6091  
CSO: 4209/253

VO TRAN CHI, HO CHI MINH CITY DELEGATION

BK311554 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 86 pp 4, 7

[Report by Vo Tran Chi, secretary of Ho Chi Minh City party committee, delivered at the 15 December afternoon session of the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] Dear Presidium,

Dear comrade representatives of the fraternal parties,

Dear delegates,

First of all, allow me to convey, on behalf of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization delegation, to all the comrades delegates and to the congress the warm sentiments, confidence, and enthusiasm of the communists and the laboring people of Ho Chi Minh City.

Our delegation would like to express total identity of views with the Political Report of the party Central Committee presented by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh and the report on the socioeconomic orientations, tasks, and targets for the years 1986-90 presented by Comrade Vo Van Kiet, member of the party Central Committee Political Bureau and vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, at the congress. The political report correctly assesses our country's socioeconomic situation; clarifies the theoretical and practical problems of the Vietnamese revolution in the new stage, thus reflecting an important step toward renovation of our party's thinking, and, at the same time, further substantiates the guidelines for advancement in the first stage of the period of transition to socialism. The strategic viewpoints and thoughts expounded in the political report affirm the correctness and creativity of the various resolutions of the party Central Committee -- especially the sixth plenum resolution (fourth tenure) and the sixth, seventh, and eighth plenum resolutions (fifth tenure) -- and the various viewpoints reached by the Political Bureau on the economic structure, on socialist transformation, and on the mechanism of economic management. Realities at the grass-roots level show that all lessons drawn from experience in the past 11 years are totally correct.

As a locality in which the struggle between the two roads, between the enemy and ourselves, and between the new and the old is taking place in a very fierce and complicated manner, Ho Chi Minh City, like many other friendly localities and many basic units, has worked hard and sought to remove obstacles in production, in business and in management difficulties -- issues that are recapitulated in the political report.

With regard to the management mechanism, since early 1980, there have emerged a number of grass-roots units that take the initiative in formulating plans for production and business, thereby opening up possibilities for integration and cooperation in production between central and local enterprises in the city and between the city itself and other provinces; and this has stopped the decline of many state-run enterprises that were tied up by the mechanism based on bureaucratic centralism and state subsidies, and stimulated the development of production. Since 1982, the city has carried out the division of labor and decentralization of management among the various precincts and districts and decided on the organizational system for grass-roots units, city wards, and villages, confirming that city wards and villages are planning echelons with their own budgets. This has created favorable conditions for the basic units to develop their initiative, dynamism, and creativity and to move forward step by step in meeting their own needs and carrying out economic accounting and socialist business. While the new managerial methods are being applied on an experimental basis, the struggle between the old and backward mechanism and the new and progressive mechanism has, at times, proceeded in a very intense and complicated manner. However, the new mechanism has won eventually and the direction that conforms to the economic law has been increasingly confirmed. Realities in Ho Chi Minh City and other localities show that a remarkable change in the situation can be brought about if production is allowed to proceed in accordance with its own law. Since 1981, the average annual increment rate of industrial production in the city has increased from 20 to over 30 percent. In 1985, the city's gross industrial output value more than doubled that of 1980 (based on the fixed prices of 1982). The conclusions drawn by the party Central Committee Political Bureau on economic viewpoints and the Political Report at this congress further clarify that we must definitely and rapidly renovate the mechanism of management.

Regarding socialist transformation, this work has, at times, been carried out in a campaign-like style with attention being concentrated heavily on dealing with the relations of ownership rather than on resolving in a coordinated manner all three aspects, namely, the systems of ownership, management, and distribution. Obviously, this work method did not produce any results. Afterwards, the city was driven into difficulties and confusion, causing it to slacken the process of transformation. This mistake by the city is due partly to the general viewpoints and partly to the failure to understand fully that "transformation is a regular and continuous task throughout the period of transition, and the efficiency of this task lies in the effective employment of all the existing economic bases and forces through appropriate forms and steps based on socialism." Since the Political Bureau issued Resolution No 1 on the tasks of Ho Chi Minh City in 1982, the city has made great efforts to move in the direction of "transforming for better use and using for better transformation"; and affirmed even more clearly that the objective of socialist transformation is to stimulate the development of production forces and improve the people's life. On this basis, the city has adopted policies and organizational forms that are suited to the managerial and technical skills of the production forces and deeply respond to the law governing the operation of each sector in production and circulation. As a result of this, production has picked up, the laboring people's income has increased in proportion with productivity, and life has been improved.

Since early 1986, in addition to paying attention to consolidating and strengthening the state-run and collectivized economic sectors, the city has opted to encourage the family-based and individual economic sectors in order to create conditions for the various economic components to mobilize their funds, machinery, and professional skills for production development, thus generating employment for laborers and stabilizing the people's life. The city has so far set up thousands of additional production



establishments, providing employment for more than 10,000 laborers, exactly as the Political Report points out: "It is necessary to adopt policies that pave the way for laborers to create jobs themselves" and develop "the scattered yet very important potentials among the people." Also, in the past few years, the city has expanded on an experimental basis the form of profit-sharing joint state-private enterprises, established joint enterprises with small business owners, and experimentally built "agricultural-industrial-commercial-credit" models in some agricultural cooperatives and villages. In the field of trade, along with concentrating on consolidating and expanding the socialist trade network and intensifying market management, the city has begun to experiment with the transitional economic form of business cooperation with middle traders while organizing small traders into commodity sectors, employing them as sales agents, or utilizing their professional skills. In the process of transformation and utilization, it is impossible to avoid negative aspects which the city has always tried to detect and overcome. Based on our practical experience — drawn from both successes and failures — we totally agree with the new viewpoints concerning the management mechanism, economic structure, and socialist transformation that have been profoundly summed up in the political report at the congress.

Dear delegates,

The political report of the party Central Committee has asserted that "it is of prime importance to renovate the socioeconomic policies in order to develop the mastery role and zeal of the laboring people and launch an enthusiastic mass movement to simultaneously carry out the revolution in production relations, the technological-ideological revolution, and the ideological-cultural revolution." In the immediate future, it is necessary to gear renovation — chiefly renovation in the investment portfolio and renovation in policies and in the organization of cadres — toward implementing at all costs the three major targeted programs of grain and food products, consumer goods, and export goods. Obviously, if we cannot achieve these three major programs, we will not be able to extricate our economy from the current acute difficulties, achieve stabilization and favorable development, and create firm bases and premises necessary for socialist industrialization in the following stage.

As one of the industrial centers of the country, Ho Chi Minh City possesses much potential. At the same time, it also has the heavy duty of implementing the above-mentioned three major targeted programs, taking into consideration their organic relations.

1. In order to resolve the problem of grain and food for the entire country, the most important thing is to determine where investment should be made to get the quickest and highest results. The Mekong River Delta has been classified as the country's largest grain center.

Together with the Bien Hoa industrial complex (Dong Nai), Ho Chi Minh City must surge forward to effect a change in the Mekong River Delta rice bowl, the industrial crop and animal husbandry areas in eastern Nam Bo and in the southern part of the Central Highlands, and the fishing area from southern Trung Bo southward.

In this direction, the city will be responsible for the production and restoration of various types of machinery needed in agriculture, forestry, and fishery; and especially for major repair services, the assembly, modernization, and production of spare parts and other necessary agricultural tools. On the other hand, the process of regional agricultural development cannot be separated from the city's efforts to develop the

processing industry, especially its refining work. The city must regard efforts to raise the quality of its export goods as a principal objective to be achieved in the implementation of its central tasks.

With regard to the suburbs in particular, although the agricultural, forestry, and fishery areas are small, we must actively create for ourselves a source of grain, a food belt, and an area planted with suitable industrial crops to meet an important part of the needs of grain and food in the city, raw material for industry, and goods for export.

2. The manufacture of consumer goods is a strength and a great potential of Ho Chi Minh City. In a number of light industry sectors — including industry and artisan and handicrafts — Ho Chi Minh City has a large scope of activity and a relatively-high level of specialization in consumer engineering, electronic assembling, textiles, food industry, pharmaceuticals production, soap and general detergents, plastics, cosmetics, printing, cultural products, and so forth. Although having used only around 40-50 percent of its production capacity, the city's production volume of consumer goods has constituted 40 percent of the country's total.

In the past, thanks to its correct course of action and its economic integration with various provinces, the city's consumer goods industry has been maintained and developed. However, from this Sixth CPV Congress, our city has realized more clearly that the pace of development attained by the city recently does not reflect the city's actual capacity, nor does it respond to the needs of the entire country. The city's consumer goods, if appropriately developed and qualitatively improved, will better meet the demands of life in the countryside, generate abundant commodities that can be exchanged for agricultural products in the region, accelerate agricultural development, and at the same time, resolve significantly the unnecessary privations facing the life of the people nationwide and create the possibility for exchanges with the friendly countries of Laos and Cambodia, and cut down on the importation of luxury goods that is causing difficulties to the economy.

To achieve this, the city itself will exert its best efforts; and we propose to join the central sectors in reorganizing coordinated efforts among the various industrial branches and central engineering, national defense industry, and local industry capabilities located in the city. One pressing problem is the revision of the investment portfolio in the correct direction, concentrating on making intensive investments, removing bottlenecks in the procurement of supplies and raw material, and providing better benefits to producers to boost the use of the city's machinery capacity to 70-80 percent and double the current value of its consumer goods output in the shortest time possible. With great pleasure, the city thinks that this is the most economical and effective guideline for it to play an important part in this targeted program.

3. The program for producing export goods — or to put it more broadly, the spearhead of the external economy — involves very many aspects; and it is closely associated with the two programs mentioned above. The city is deeply aware of its responsibility regarding this program.

Resolution No 1 on the tasks of Ho Chi Minh City, which was issued by the Political Bureau in 1982, affirmed "the very favorable position and conditions of the city" in terms of external foreign relations and international exchanges. Since then, the city has, however, not met the expectations of the central level.

In the coming period, along with increasing the sources of export goods, the city will channel its efforts to developing various forms of local labor exports through labor contracts, which also cover the restoration, assembling, and modernization of equipment, machinery, transportation means, and other necessary means of life; and make use of all possibilities for cooperation with foreign companies and overseas Vietnamese.

Regarding international services in the field of air and sea transportation and tourism at the city's harbor and airport, the city has over the past 11 years not yet joined the central level in expanding and developing these branches; and this is a serious waste and loss. The packaging industry as well as the maintenance, storage, and cargo-handling sectors in the city must also be strongly developed on a scale suitable with the city's inherent superior position.

There is a great possibility for procuring foreign currencies and noncommercial goods sent to nearly 200,000 families in the city from their relatives in foreign countries. This is an economic potential and also a social problem that must be solved along the lines of "winning the people's hearts"; but the city is still fairly slow in adopting socioeconomic policies to bring about good results.

In all three programs, science and technology plays a very important role. The city, with effective assistance from the central level, must adopt policies aimed at using more rationally its contingent of scientific and technological cadres together with its existing scientific-technological bases which have so far been left lying idle. Along this direction, the city will not stop at the linking of science and technology to production but will also reinforce production establishments with scientific and technological forces so that science and technology will become a direct production force that brings about realistic results.

In light of the congress resolutions, the city must continue to think, broaden its outlook, and embark immediately on organizing the implementation of tasks with an innovative spirit in order to contribute to carrying out the three common programs of the entire country.

Of course, the city cannot ensure all the necessary conditions for success. The city urgently requests that the central government provide it and the outlying areas with the necessary supply of electricity. The pace of construction of the Tri An hydroelectric power plant must be determined so that the first set of generators at the plant will be put into operation by the end of 1987. The Thu Duc and Can Tho thermoelectric power plants should be expanded. In the 1986-90 plan, we should embark on building the Nam Thuan hydroelectric project if we are to have enough electricity for the 1990's. Along with improving the local electricity grid to accommodate electricity supply from the Tri An power plant, we must form a national electricity network, taking into consideration general plans in the spirit of "developing electricity one step in advance."

It is of decisive importance that many policies be renovated urgently as already noted in the political report.

These are the policies on national finance, accumulation, and consumption; policies toward workers and socialist transformation; and other specific policies and regulations on banking, the supply of materials, tax rates for stimulating production, prices, foreign exchange rates, and so forth. These policies must reflect a uniform

renovation of the entire management mechanism in order to definitely eliminate the former bureaucratic centralized management mechanism based on state subsidies. Although renovation requires a long process, the urgent requirements of the situation do not allow us to delay. Lastly, the machinery and the people involved are of special importance as they are decisive factors.

Economic integration and cooperation between the city and other localities in the regions as well as between the city and other central sectors constitute a vital requirement for the city and the region. With regard to friendly localities, the city should adopt a spirit of equality and socialist cooperation in the interest of all parties concerned and also in the common interest of the nation if we are to create an integrated strength with which to implement the three targeted programs outlined in the congress resolution.

Dear congress,

The city delegation totally agrees with the political report which advocates party building as the deciding factor in all the successes of the revolution. In its current party-building work, the city should concentrate on the key task of raising the role, position, and combative strength of all grass-roots party organizations. Facts obtained over the past few years show that the vitality has always emerged from the infrastructure where the greatest difficulties and complications lie and also where the mechanism of mastery by the people is directly realized. Grass-roots party organizations are the very places where the masses' dynamic force is brought forth to develop the people's great potentials and implement successfully all party and state socioeconomic plans. In various production and business units and service establishments, many basic units of the city party organization still remain very weak, and the party's leading role is taken lightly. This is intolerable because it is at the very places where wealth is produced directly and the new man is being built that the party must closely associate itself with the people, rely on the people as roots, and really assume its role as the nucleus of leadership in all activities. We must show grass-roots party organizations, especially those in production and business units, how to assume leadership over mass organization. It is necessary to control and educate the trade and youth unions, considering them as the party's strength for carrying out socioeconomic tasks; and at the same time, through the activities of mass organizations, to control and supervise the managerial role of enterprise directors and unit leaders and also to prevent, check, and oppose negativism from the grass roots. Grass-roots party organizations must consider building the contingent of workers at enterprises and other units as their main target. Along with caring for their material and spiritual life, it is necessary to arouse enterprise workers' awareness in the movement for revolutionary action, enhance their role of mastery, and vigorously extend party membership to workers on the basis of that movement.

Another important issue for the city party organization is that it must restore principles and discipline in party life, party traditions, the Leninist workstyle, and so forth, that have at times been neglected; and on that basis, further enhance the stand of the working class, the ideal of communism, and the vital need for all party cadres and members and all basic party units to maintain a close bond with the masses. At the same time, it is necessary to improve thinking and the capabilities for leadership, organization, and management — especially economic management.



Dear comrade delegates,

Upon embarking on implementing the congress resolution, we are faced with not a few difficulties and obstacles. However, the party organization and people of the city are filled with firm confidence because formerly, within the framework of the bureaucratic centralized mechanism based on state subsidies, the city and its various localities and basic units thought hard, strove to surge forward, and contributed to the formulation of many party and state viewpoints and policies. The resolution of this congress obviously upgrades and perfects the correct strategic viewpoints of our party, and it reflects a turning point on the road toward renovation of the country in conformity with the trends of our times. In reality, the door is now open for even more vigorous upsurge by every locality, every basic unit, and everyone of us. This is also a pressing requirement of the revolution, of the masses, and of life, which can be neither postponed nor reversed. At the fourth congress of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization held recently, Comrade Nguyen Van Linh urged the city to remember forever the important guiding suggestion given by the late Comrade General Secretary Le Duan: "For the entire country and together with the entire country, it is certain that Ho Chi Minh City will build socialism successfully."

On behalf of the city party organization and people, the Ho Chi Minh City delegation pledges that they will do their best to be worthy of the confidence of the congress, comrades, and compatriots throughout the country, and of the city named after esteemed Uncle Ho.

My sincere thanks to the congress Presidium.

My wish for good health to all comrades delegates.

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NGUYEN THI DINH, BEN TRE PROVINCE DELEGATION

BK040738 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 86 p 6

["Excerpt" from address by Nguyen Thi Dinh, delegate of Ben Tre provincial party organization, at the Sixth CPV Congress — date not given]

[Text] Women throughout the country are turning their minds toward the sixth national party congress with the earnest hope that this congress will mark a new step forward in the Vietnamese revolution.

In recent years, implementing the resolution of the fifth national party congress and in an extremely difficult and complex situation, women throughout the country have still perseveringly striven to strongly push forward the movement of "New women building and defending the fatherland."

As a force accounting for more than 60 percent of laborers in agriculture, small industry, handicrafts, light industry, education, public health, culture, and arts, our sister have made important contributions to the country's socioeconomic achievements. Especially on the agricultural front, in conditions of disastrous natural calamities and insufficient energy, materials, and draft power, it would have been impossible for us to obtain such results in productivity and output as we did recently without the stalwart spirit, initiative, and creativity of tens of millions of people, of which women constitute a powerful force accounting for more than 80 percent of those directly engaged in crop planting and livestock raising.

In extremely harsh production and living conditions, the absolute majority of women from all walks of life have still resiliently endured hardships, brought into play their traditional industriousness in labor, ensured production and official duties, and readily contributed their labor and property and motivated their husbands and children to discharge their national defense obligation. This has once again proven the traditional patriotism of Vietnamese women, their sense of attachment to socialism, and their boundless loyalty to the party.

Although large masses of women have succeeded in preserving the above mentioned strong points, the women's movement in recent years has still suffered from limitations in many respects. This was caused partly by the fact that a number of women lacked a sufficient sense of responsibility, showed a decline in their will to make an effort, and shrank back at the sight of difficulties and negativism in society; and partly by the fact the masses' ardor often failed to yield results due to the shortcomings and errors in socioeconomic management, a situation this congress has severely reviewed and set forth guidelines to overcome.

Vietnamese women firmly believe that implementation of the socioeconomic targets and policies stated in the Political Report will create favorable conditions for the working people, men and women alike, to exploit all potentials, produce large amounts of material wealth, bring about new economic development, and move the country forward.

Our sisters are enthusiastic to see that their requests and aspirations have been noted down in the documents of the party congress. These are the requests for employment, for proper conditions in which to develop production, for stable living conditions, and for proper care in all aspects of their material and spiritual life, both in society and in their families. And the most cherished aspiration of every woman — an aspiration for which countless mothers and countless wives have sacrificed their husbands and children for the revolution — is to become the real masters of the country and for all to be equal before the law. This aspiration has been profoundly reflected in the Political Report. Our sisters hope that the concept of considering the people as the roots and that the slogan "let the people know, discuss, do, and control" will be regularly translated into concrete daily activities in each unit, each enterprise, each organ, each cooperative, each street, each hamlet, and each village. Only in this way can words be matched with deeds, the party's ideas become synonymous with the people's wishes, and a great aggregate strength be created to help overcome all difficulties and fulfill all tasks. The concept of "considering the people as the roots" can only be realized if the party is purified and strengthened, law and regulations are restored, discipline is consolidated in the party and the state apparatus, and corruption, special privileges and perquisites are absolutely opposed.

Vietnamese women deeply understand that their personal interests, their families' happiness, and their children's future are closely linked with the stability and purity of the party and state apparatuses. Therefore, they have always been loyal to the party and earnestly wish to see it grow constantly to lead the cause of socialist construction to victory. Women are present everywhere and may know many things about the behavior and virtues of party cadres and members and state employees. The party only needs to really trust and rely on the masses, including women, then the masses will bring to light facts that may help the party successfully wage the extremely complex struggle to purify the party, overcome negative phenomena in the state apparatus, and ward off negative phenomena in society.

The socioeconomic guidelines, tasks, and targets laid down by this congress impose extremely weighty tasks on the entire people. Women of all strata have great responsibilities, especially in implementing the three programs of grain and foodstuffs, consumer goods, and export articles. We have everything it takes to fulfill these programs, including manpower, technical knowledge, and managerial experience as well as materials and energy. Aside from the capital investment provided by the state, the people still have considerable sources of capital. It remains only for the party and state to apply truly resolute measures to really concentrate their forces on renovating managerial work and amending and building a system of policies aimed at creating conditions for the laborers to engage in production activities with peace of mind, enthusiasm, and efficiency. If this is done, after a few crop seasons we can effect notable changes on the agricultural front and significantly increase the output of marketable products. Only on this basis can we slow down the rate of price increases and inflation and resolve step by step the wage problem as well as other issues regarding the stabilization of the people's life and of society. In the immediate future, we suggest that the procurement of agricultural supplies be revamped without delay, the policy on purchasing agricultural products be amended, and a number of cases involving abuse of power and violations of the state and collective's property

be dealt with in a really severe and judicious manner in order to enable the people to see right way the resolve of the party and state to achieve renovation, thereby boosting their confidence and prompting them to zealously carry out all tasks. Certainly, women will be an active force serving as a prop for the party in the struggle to renovate the managerial mechanism, restore order and discipline, and strengthen our dictatorship of the proletariat.

Under the party's leadership, the Vietnam Women's Union, together with the VFF, various mass organizations, and their related committees and sectors, will renovate their methods of operations, work closely with the grass-roots levels, educate and motivate women of all strata, enhance their sense of mastery, surmount actively all difficulties, and fulfill positively all tasks. At the same time, it will promptly receive women's legitimate requirements and wishes and will recommend that the party and state adopt appropriate positions and measures, formulate laws and policies, and control and supervise their implementation.

Conscious of their responsibilities, women of all walks of life will demonstrate their determination to implement the resolutions of the party congress by taking concrete and effective actions in accordance with their positions. They will make every effort in working, producing, practicing thrift, studying, complying with laws and policies, building families, and raising good children, thereby making practical contributions to promoting the mass movement for revolutionary actions in each grass-roots unit and successfully implementing the 1986-1990 5-Year State Plan. Vietnamese women pledge to remain worthy of respected and beloved Uncle Ho's praise: "Our picturesque Vietnam has become even more beautiful and splendid thanks to the efforts of our women, young and old alike."

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PHAM THE DUYET, QUANG NING PROVINCE DELEGATION

BK031454 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 86 pp 6, 7

[Speech by Quang Ninh provincial party delegate Pham The Duyet at the Sixth CPV Congress; date not given]

[Text] As party members who participated in trade union activities, we would like to present our views on the human factor in productive labor and the problem of ensuring the worker's and civil servant's right to collective mastery.

We have an identity of views on the evaluation and arguments presented in the Political Report of the party Central Committee by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh at the congress. The reports has profoundly manifested the will of our entire party and people to renovate all aspects of our thinking, especially economic thinking, and to renovate our working method, organization, and cadre task.

We have understood the criticism made by the Political Report that during the past years we have clung to such negative phenomena as subjectivism, arbitrariness, simplicity in thought and action, hastiness, tailing after subjectivism, and failing to firmly grasp and act in accordance with the law of objectivism. This is the petit bourgeois characteristic, having both rightist and leftist concepts.

We think that this mistake is manifested also in another important area, that is the party's lack of interest in human strategy and the human factor in production.

We have not given our full attention to studying and formulating a strategy and a plan to build an appropriate contingent of workers for economic building and development programs and for implementing the socialist industrialization of our nation. More than 50 percent of our workers throughout the country have not been trained in vocational schools, while a large number of them, though trained in these schools, are jobless. The ratio between skilled workers and scientific and technical cadres from intermediate level to university or higher levels is not balanced. At present, tens of thousands of scientific and technical cadres have not been used in the fields they studied. We have not paid full attention to and formulated concrete and appropriate policy on the recruitment of outstanding workers for special training to turn them into leading cadres for various echelons and sectors of the party and state. The number of party members directly engaged in production as a percentage of the total party members is declining.

President Ho Chi Minh taught us: "We must eat to live in order to work and build socialism." A proverb says: "Honesty is the best policy." This is well known to everyone and needs no further explanation. However, the present salaries earned by our workers and civil servants are not enough to revitalize their strength for continued labor. Egalitarianism in the pay system has borne a negative effect on the encouragement of workers and civil servants to raise the levels of their professional skills, on the division of labor, on various necessary trades and jobs, and on outlying localities. Some systems of social aid and subsidy such as subsidies for workers who worked the third-shift or worked in warm and toxic conditions; aid for workers' dependents; social welfare; hardship allowances; and so forth, are all carried out in an irrational manner. We must review and adjust these systems. At many places, minimum facilities to ensure safety for workers have not been fully provided while working conditions have been developed slowly, thus accidents for workers are still common.

When faced with such conditions as shortages of raw materials and fuel for workers and civil servants to continue their work, while they cannot make both ends meet, their grown children have no work to do, and prices of goods are skyrocketing; we should promptly pay attention to formulating plans to effectively mobilize our work force and reorganize production, encouraging workers and civil servants to carry out family economy, and improving services for workers and civil servants at enterprises and industrial cities. It is with regret, however, that we have realized this fact too late.

All these points have made apparent the backwardness of our socioeconomic policy in general, and the wage system in particular. This has negatively affected production, diminished the diligence and creativity of our workers, damaged their spirit and morale, and lessened their confidence in the party leadership. The trade union must also share responsibility for these problems.

In the spirit of serious self-criticism, we have profoundly reviewed our weakness and found that we have not been sharp and active enough in coping with the new problems in production and in the worker's and civil servant's daily life. We have not striven hard enough to keep the trade union's activities abreast of the current situation in order to be able to study and propose to the party and state various draft laws on social and labor problems relating to the obligations and rights of the workers and civil servants. We have not resolutely mobilized and encouraged workers and civil servants to satisfactorily carry out inspection work in order to contribute positively to the struggle against negative phenomena and corruption at enterprises, state organs, and in society.

We recommend that the Sixth CPV Central Committee promptly issue a resolution on the building of the working class in the new situation and that the state promptly promulgate the labor code and the amended trade union law in order to institutionalize the duties and benefits of workers and the responsibilities and rights of trade unions as stipulated in the Constitution.

As an immediate step, we recommend that state agencies scrupulously implement the approved urgent measures to alleviate the livelihood problems for workers and civil servants. The party and state should institute policies to satisfactorily employ and remunerate scientific cadres and skilled technical workers and those who do heavy and

noxious jobs. There should be policies to encourage people to work in outlying areas and to pay more attention to the development of collective welfare and the resolution of housing problems for workers and civil servants. A study should be urgently conducted to positively resolve the unemployment problem for workers and civil servants and their dependents and to promptly revise the pay system in order to make wages really the main legitimate means of living for workers and civil servants and an important factor in the system of economic levers to encourage workers to produce more wealth for society. While wages cannot have increased and market prices have not been stabilized, necessary measures should be taken to allow workers and civil servants buy staple commodities at stable state prices in order to guarantee that they can live practically on their wages.

Developing the laboring people's mastery to build socialism is a principled issue in the activities of our party, state, and people. However, no considerable change has been noted yet in the implementation of collective mastery of workers and civil servants in grass-roots units. Stipulations in the Constitution on the rights of trade unions to participate in the work of the state and to control the activities of state agencies have not materialized. Many management agencies have not respected these stipulations and have not created conditions for trade unions to carry out these stipulations. Many state agencies at various levels have even tried to restrict the role of trade unions in participating in state management and in controlling the work of state agencies.

Many influential cadres have violated the laboring people's right to collective mastery and revenge workers and civil servants, making the people lose confidence in social justice.

The number of letters of denunciation has increased every day, mostly denouncing influential cadres for being arbitrary and corrupt. Some of the cases have been publicized recently in newspapers. These are a very few cases as compared to the real number of such cases that have occurred and are occurring throughout the country in many grass-roots units, sectors, and localities.

Workers and civil servants are very discontent with those who have violated their right to mastery, and they cannot sympathize with those cadres who try to protect and condone violators.

In implementing Directive No 79 of the party Central Committee Secretariat, some of these cases have been dealt with and the people's sympathy and confidence have begun to be consolidated.

We recommend that a system be promptly established for leading cadres of the party and state agencies and the mass organizations to periodically make contact with the people and listen to their views. The legitimate petitions of the masses must be handled promptly. The negative cases denounced by the masses must be checked, concluded, and severely dealt with and the people must be publicly informed of the results of action. Workers, civil servants, and trade unions must be permitted to know and debate the work of the state in various agencies and factories so that they can mobilize the people to help carry it out. Leaders at all echelons must be placed under the control and supervision of workers, civil servants, and trade union. Only by doing so, can the question of letting "the people know, debate, and control," mentioned in the Political Report to this congress, have some real meaning. If such can be done, workers and

civil servants will certainly be very enthusiastic and the campaign to purify the party, overcome corruption in the state machinery, and repel negativism in society will certainly be a success.

As trade union cadres, we pledge to the party that we will strive to implement Uncle Ho's teachings: "Trade union cadres must know about production and the livelihood of workers and civil servants; must understand the party policies; and must have some economic management, scientific and technical knowledge" in order to enable trade unions to really bear an effect on "vigorously promoting the collective mastery of workers and civil servants in their participation in the management of factories, economy, and the state," in order to make worthy contributions to creating new changes in all aspects of the country's life and to successfully implement the sixth party congress resolution.

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VU TUYEN HOANG, HAI HUNG PROVINCE DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 23 Dec 86 p 2

[ "Excerpts" from speech by Professor Dr. Vu Tuyen Hoang, Delegate from Hai Hung Province, to the Sixth National Party Congress in Hanoi: "Some Ideas on Hopes for Increasing Grain-Food Yields and Outputs"; date not given]

[Text] Beginning with the varied climate and soil characteristics of our country, the crop and domestic animal system and raising and cultivation technical regulations must be studied and appropriately implemented for each agricultural production ecologic region.

The tropical climate has advantages for crop growth and development but at the same time also has disadvantages--primarily the commonly occurring natural disasters in a number of regions.

On the present cultivated area, there are advantages and difficulties. In rice cultivation land alone, there are presently 4,700,000 hectares with 1,700,000 hectares of favorable level land, 1,940,000 hectares in acidic, saline and alum soil, 500,000 hectares of infertile land, 320,000 hectares of land subject to sudden deep flooding, and the remainder marshy, hilly and coastal land. The hot and damp climate and abundant biological species and conditions easily produce insects and disease harmful to crops and domestic animals. Thorough use of the favorable conditions and avoidance of the unfavorable conditions of the tropics must be the course and principle in agricultural production in our country. Due to the varied natural conditions, it is possible in our country to raise crops of a tropical, semitropical and even temperate climate origin. In favorable regions, it is generally possible to raise two to three crops annually, for example two rice crops and one winter crop in the north, two rice crops and one subsidiary food crop in the south, etc. The course of intensive cultivation, rotation multicropping, and gradual area expansion has an effect of developing agriculture and grain and food production in depth as well as in breadth. Crops raised in spacious fields bear the constant effects of natural outside conditions, much more so than animals raised in pens. Therefore, a study of climate patterns and natural conditions in agriculture, and the rational formulation of planting schedules and grain and food crop structures for each region are extremely important issues of a decisive nature to the final yield and output.

It is necessary to mildly coordinate traditional experience with modern science and technology in order to achieve high crop yields and output that are stable

over a period of many years. During the recent 5-year plan, grain yields and output, especially of rice, increased at a fairly rapid rate but were still not stable. The achievement of high and stable crop yields is the result of consolidating the characteristics of varieties, land, the water conservancy system, fertilizer and plant protection within farming technical rules, and the influence of environmental conditions.

Arranged in order of grain and food crop importance are: rice, corn, sweet potatoes, manioc, western potatoes, and various varieties of beans, vegetables and melons. It is also necessary to mention a number of seed crop varieties such as millet, kaoliang, wheat and cereals, and other crop varieties with tubers. In the system of crop rotation between rice and subsidiary food crops, there are also short-term industrial crops. Rotation multicropping is an important method. It is necessary in this system to calculate formulas of crop rotation between grain and food crops and varieties of short-term industrial crops of industrial raw material and export value. While carrying out the mission during the year, it is increasingly necessary to carefully calculate the schedule arrangement and crop structure consistent with the climate pattern in general and the microclimate in particular of each region with the purpose of achieving the highest economic effectiveness. In regions of usually complex changing climate, it is increasingly necessary to base the setting of planting schedules and the use of early, average and late ripening varieties on the climate pattern over many years and in accordance with requirement objectives.

A series of new cold-resistant rice varieties hybridized by us and experimentally introduced to the tenth-month season have shown cold-resistance during the growth and heading periods, and initial yield data has indicated that a number of experimental varieties are capable of achieving 3 to 4 tons per hectare, opening expectations for areas of dry and drought-stricken land, land dependent on rain, and land with incomplete water conservancy where water is available at times and not available at others, etc.

The use of new rice varieties and a portion of the locally evaluated and selected rice varieties (primarily in the Mekong River Delta) must be accompanied by technical regulations to ensure yield requirements. The establishment of rice intensive cultivation land over 2,500,000 hectares in the near future aimed at achieving an average yield of 4.3 to 4.5 tons per hectare is possible with the organization conditions, rational investment, and policies encouraging laborers in the fields and the ranks of supervisory and scientific and technical cadres. The more intensive cultivation there is, the more conditions are created for insects and disease to develop. That is an objective reality and regulations are necessary for consolidated insect and disease prevention and control while simultaneously protecting the environment, coordinating chemical and biological methods such as the resistance of crops or other methods.

In fertilization, coordination of organic and chemical fertilizers is the most effective course for unceasingly increasing crop yields and improving the soil. During a relatively long period in the past, rice land was usually fertilized with only barnyard manure and nitrate fertilizer and an imbalance between nitrogen, phosphorous and potassium macro-elements (depending on the type of soil) in a number of regions has become a factor restricting yields. In increasing

the effectiveness of nitrogen and phosphorous in rice land, it is simultaneously necessary to begin emphasis on the use of a number of types of trace fertilizers in areas of intensive cultivation in order to increase effectiveness of the primary fertilizers, a problem waiting for attention in the period to come. Recently, the experimental use of a tool to push top-dressing fertilizer 5 cm below the soil surface resulted in an increase in rice yields of about 20 percent over hand application of a similar amount of fertilizer and the rice plants were less afflicted by disease. This tool must receive widespread experimentation and development in order to save and raise the effectiveness of chemical fertilizer. During 1981, the average rice yield was only 2.2 tons per hectare and by 1985, yields had reached 2.8 tons per hectare, a fairly rapid rate of increase, but compared with the biological potential of each variety, the soil and the climate if suitable technical regulations were applied, a much greater increase could be achieved because this level is low compared with the potentially exploitable capabilities--over a small area, a number of our rice varieties have achieved 10 to 12 tons per hectare in one crop.

Subsidiary food crops during the past have not been truly emphasized or received suitable investment. After the primary crop of rice, the corn crop has an important position, especially in the development of stock raising. Average corn yields are still low, about 1.5 tons per hectare. With modern improved and selected corn varieties, an increase in yields to 2 to 2.5 tons per hectare in the near future is a realistic possibility. Actual practice in a number of regions achieving 4 to 5 tons per hectare raising their yields as high as 7 tons per hectare indicates that the capabilities for increasing corn yields under the tropical conditions of our country are still great if we implement suitable investment and technical policies.

The various varieties of tuber crops presently have low yields; sweet potatoes about 6 to 7 tons, manioc about 7 to 8 tons, western potatoes about 9 to 10 tons, and bean varieties such as soybeans about 1 to 1.2 tons per hectare. Many varieties of vegetables, melons and fruits have not received the proper level of attention in propagation and technology. We have recently had a fairly large number of technical advances such as varieties of sweet potatoes that we have hybridized for short-term growth, winter cold resistance and average yields of 14 to 15 tons with the highest yield 30 tons per hectare; and varieties of imported western potatoes experimentally grown over a wide area by the seed sowing method; these methods capable of raising western potato yields to 15 to 16 tons and 20 tons per hectare at the highest. Hybridized or selected soybean varieties have shown expectations for increasing yields higher than at the present time. In the near future, increasing the yields and widely using methods of subsidiary food crop processing will make it possible to strive for an increase in subsidiary food crops to account for about 14 to 15 percent of the total grain output in paddy equivalent.

Formulating a realistic and rapidly effective variety production system and seeking every method to reduce depletion during harvest and the storage of seed and products are issues requiring active achievement in a manner synchronized with an increase in grain and food crop yields aimed at achieving an output objective of 22 to 23 million tons of paddy, and there are still capabilities for higher efforts by 1990.

Organizing programs for the introduction of scientific and technical advances to production, establishing coordinated agricultural-forestry or agricultural-forestry-water conservancy models, technical training down to the laborer in product contract conditions, training and raising the standards of ranks of individuals engaged in scientific and technical work, exchanging information, international cooperation, the application of biological achievements and techniques, etc., all must have rational policies in order to stimulate science and technology and production development. Effective organization and achievement of the grain and food program will simultaneously have a related effect on consumer and export goods programs. A policy of going forward and opening the way for the introduction of scientific and technical advances to production is aimed at achieving grain output to provide enough for people to eat and to develop stock raising and have a surplus while simultaneously improving the quality of our people's diet.

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CSO: 4209/273



**NGUYEN VAN HIEU, HA SON BINH PROVINCE DELEGATION**

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 pp 4, 5

[Excerpts from speech by Nguyen Van Hieu, delegate from Ha Son Binh provincial party organization: "Really Turn Science and Technology Into an Important Motive Power To Boost National Socioeconomic Development"]

[Text] The political report by the CPV Central Committee as well as its report on the directions and principal targets of socioeconomic development during the 1986-90 5-year period have pointed out specific and huge tasks to be carried out by the entire party and people to step up production and improve the material and intellectual lives of the people. The execution of these tasks requires a vigorous and profound change in organizing scientific and technological activities so that science and technology will really become an important motive power to boost national socioeconomic development and that bright prospects will simultaneously be opened up for strong growth of the Vietnamese science.

Among the scientific and technological activities aimed at positively contributing to production development, the broad application of confirmed technological advances as well as the choice of progressive industrial designs suitable to the situation in our country and quickly applicable to production are, of course, highly important tasks which will exercise a great effect and thus need to be carried out on a priority basis. However, the successful implementation of various socioeconomic development tasks--which will be decided on by the congress and which will include three major economic programs on grain, food products, and consumer and export goods--will require that the scientific and technical forces of our country rapidly resolve by their own efforts many scientific problems whose solution cannot be found from among the results already obtained by foreign countries because these problems can only spring from the natural and social conditions peculiar to our own country and because they are closely related to the natural tropical situation of Vietnam and to the Vietnamese people.

To do so, attention must be paid to developing basic scientific branches along guidelines directed toward targets of the socioeconomic and scientific-technological development strategy of our country. Basic directional research will not only provide scientific data for the search for new technical solutions and new industrial patterns but will also exert a positive effect on

the creative application of the world's scientific and technological achievements and of the modern technologies and advanced industries of foreign countries to the specific circumstances in our own country. A high standard of scientific knowledge is a sine qua non for mastering nature, modern technology, and advanced industry.

Many of our party-state documents have pointed out that it is especially important to bring into play our country's strength in labor, land, natural resources, and natural tropical conditions to develop agriculture rapidly and comprehensively, including forestry and fishing. Implementing such a policy will require us to conduct systematic and uniform research into many scientific issues replete with vivid and prolific topics in order to comprehend these strong points fully and develop them, to find out the objective laws of nature in our country and apply them to all decisionmakings regarding production development with constant awareness of the need to act in accordance with these laws, and really to master nature by firmly adhering to these laws.

One of the many modern scientific directions to be attentively developed in our country involves research on biologic industry--a new interbranch scientific field which has come into being in the world in recent years through the application, in doing scientific research on life, of outstanding achievements in physics, chemistry, information science, and computer science. In our country, research on biologic industry will aim at building scientific bases for increased productivity in crop cultivation and animal husbandry, and at creating new sources of foodstuffs and pharmaceuticals as well as various kinds of raw materials to be supplied to the consumer goods industry and to be produced by the agricultural, forestry, and marine products sectors. Biologic industry is one of five priority directions indicated in the CEMA member countries' overall program of scientific and technological progress until the year 2000. By participating in biologic industry research within this overall program, we will obtain wholehearted assistance from the Soviet Union and fraternal countries in order to solve scientific problems and meet urgent requirements stemming from the implementation of three major economic programs and, at the same time, to contribute to developing this new scientific field within the socialist community by taking advantage of the natural tropical conditions in our own country.

During the past few decades, the world materials science has registered great achievements and exerted a strong effect on the developing countries' industries. Owing to the manufacture of new materials whose wonderful properties can be theoretically predicted by applying the laws of materials science, many modern technological fields have emerged and developed vigorously and rapidly and have quickly and noticeably increased the production forces in industrialized countries. In our country, it is absolutely important to develop the materials science if we are to master the advanced industries designed to process the existing abundant natural resources of our country into raw materials which are being needed in large quantities by many industrial, small industry, and handicraft sectors. One of the reasons why machines in our country have been used at a low efficiency rate is the shortage of replacement spare parts whose production has become difficult

mostly because of the impossibility of importing many kinds of materials with suitable properties. Therefore, the materials science in our country has the duty to help solve this difficulty and simultaneously to prepare scientific potentials for industrialization during the next stage of the transition to socialism. Conducting research on new industries and materials is also a priority direction indicated in the overall program of scientific and technological progress of the CEMA countries. By participating in this overall program, we will secure the wholehearted assistance of the Soviet Union and friendly countries to develop the materials science in our own country. The materials science is theoretically based on the science of structural formation and transformation of materials of various kinds. In the past few decades, by participating in international cooperation programs of the socialist countries, we have made heartening achievements in this scientific field. Research on the most fundamental laws of material formation have had and will have the effect of promoting the development of materials science in our country.

Owing to our people's age-old tradition of diligent work and manual dexterity and thanks to the achievements made in cultural and educational development ever since the victory of the August Revolution, there is, among the abundant labor forces of our country, a large number of people who can be trained into workers with high technical standard. Within the framework of international labor assignment in the socialist community, this work force may be employed to develop the computer science—a modern industrial field which does not necessitate large-scale factories but demands only a high technical standard and can employ many urban laborers. The computer science can possibly become an effective economic sector in our country. Preparing for the computer science development is also a very realistic task of the Vietnamese science. Beside the computer science, there are the information science and technology—a modern scientific and technological trend which has grown very rapidly in recent years owing to the manufacture of many types of computers. The information science is exerting a strong effect on the development of all socioeconomic domains in advanced countries. In our own country, the use of various types of microcomputers in activities related to economic management, industrial pattern automation, and scientific and technological research has begun to prove obviously effective. Intensified research into the information science will certainly and effectively contribute to implementing the socioeconomic development tasks to be decided on by the congress. Simultaneously with basic research on information science, we will pay continuous attention to various lines of traditional mathematical research so that modern mathematics will be instilled in most fields of mathematical research in our country and will help boost the development of other scientific branches.

To implement the congress resolutions successfully, it will be necessary to solve many major scientific problems at the modern level. To carry out this task, today we already have a trustworthy scientific potential constituted by a fairly large and uniform body of scientific cadres and by a number of fairly well-equipped scientific research installations. But this scientific force has a conspicuous weakness in that it has been organized in a scattered and incoherent manner. Consequently, in some areas, the research subjects of

different organs have crisscrossed and overlapped one another, causing wastage; in others, the lack of coordination and association has prevented these organs from supporting one another.

Reorganizing scientific research organs into a network where the functions and duties of various agencies will be clearly defined in order to increase the aggregate strength of this network is a very urgent demand placed on the Vietnamese scientific circles during the present stage.

Along with revamping organization to ensure the systematic characteristic of the scientific research organs network, it is necessary to effect a vigorous and profound change within the scientific management and leadership apparatus of our country. Because of its peculiarities, scientific research must be led according to a method different from the leadership method applied to economic sectors and administrative and nonproductive organs. Scientific development experiences in the Soviet Union and fraternal socialist countries have demonstrated that the best apparatus to lead the scientific circles in any country must be one which aims at ensuring that the whole collective of scientists with the highest scientific standard directly participate in leading science and in deciding on the most important problems of scientific development, regardless of the functions these scientists may hold in the state administrative machinery. Such an apparatus of collective scientific leadership will be the very one to lead an academy of sciences. The Vietnam Academy of Sciences--if ever founded--will act as a collective adviser capable of presenting the party and state with objective, comprehensive, and accurate scientific views and proposals on problems related to socioeconomic, scientific, and technological developments in our country whenever the scientists' opinion is sought by the party and state.

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**PHAM HUNG, CUU LONG PROVINCE DELEGATION**

**BK280945 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 86 pp 5, 7**

[Address by Pham Hung, member of CPV Central Committee Political Bureau, vice chairman of the Council of Ministers, concurrently minister of interior, and delegate of the Cuu Long provincial party organization, at the 16 December session of the Sixth CPV Congress: "For the Cause of National Security and Social Order and Safety in the New Situation"]

[Text] The Presidium,  
Dear comrade delegates,  
Dear guests,

In the spirit of looking squarely at the truth, correctly assessing the truth, and clearly telling the truth, the party Central Committee has presented to the congress very important documents of historical significance.

I fully agree with the contents of those documents.

Comrades,

While concentrating its efforts on the foremost task of building socialism, our party has always attached importance to the task of defending our beloved Vietnamese socialist fatherland.

Our party has clearly determined the basic and long-range enemy of the Vietnamese revolution and the world revolution, and the direct and dangerous enemy of the Vietnamese revolution. These enemies have colluded with each other to wage a multifaceted war of sabotage against Vietnam and the other countries on the Indochinese peninsula. They have frenziedly countered our people's socialist construction and nibbled at the territory at our fatherland's northern border in an attempt to keep our country in a state of constant tension and instability. They have incited elements hostile to socialism, carried out sabotage activities, conducted psychological warfare, and stirred up rebellions and subversion in order to annex our country and prepare for a large-scale war of aggression against it when an opportunity presents itself. Their sabotage activities against socialist Vietnam, an independent and sovereign country, threaten national independence, peace, and stability in Indochina and Southeast Asia and cause tension in Asia, the Pacific, and the rest of the world.

For this reason, "Ensuring political and social order, and safety is an extremely important task to defeat the enemies' multifaceted war of sabotage. We must resolutely suppress the counterrevolutionaries, promptly smash the attempts of reactionaries of all stripes to rear their heads, prevent and punish sabotage activities of the enemies in all domains, strengthen the law and discipline, and protect social order and the people's safety." (Footnote 1) (Documents of the Fifth National Party Congress of Delegates, Vol 1, Su That publishing house, Hanoi, 1982, p 45)

Under the party's leadership, the people's security forces — on the strength of the solidarity and combat condition of the People's Army, enjoying the cooperation of all sectors, mass organizations, and localities, and supported and assisted by the large masses of people — have further frustrated the enemies' multifaceted war of sabotage, destroyed or disbanded a large component of the FULRO [United Front for the Struggle of Oppressed Races] reactionaries in the Central Highlands, and completely wiped out many other reactionary organizations, spies, and scouts. The people's public security forces have continually struggled to suppress those who violate socialist property, hunt down hoodlums and thugs, speculators and smugglers, and other categories of criminals, thereby actively supporting various tasks of the party in socioeconomic transformation and construction, in production, circulation, and distribution, and in protecting the people's peaceful life.

The results of the people's public security forces' efforts during the past few years were that security and national defense were ensured and that progress was made in the maintenance of social order and safety. The mass movement for the protection of national security broadly expanded and gradually developed in depth. Many organs, enterprises, subwards, villages, precincts, and districts have become progressive models in safeguarding public order and security. We should bring into play and continue to multiply these good models more deeply and widely.

However, the combined strength of proletarian dictatorship still has not been fully developed in the task of firmly maintaining security and order in various aspects of socioeconomic activity. We have not yet achieved close coordination among various sectors and echelons nor launched a vigorous and continuous all-people movement to counter more effectively the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, especially economic and ideological sabotage. The struggle against violations of the laboring people's right to collective mastery and of socialist property, as well as against negativism and corruption in our internal ranks, still has not been carried out vigorously with decisive and effective measures. Socioeconomic management, which is now in the process of improvement, is still full of loopholes. Apart from this, a number of our cadres, party members, and people still display a serious lack of vigilance. As a result, the enemy and other criminals have taken advantage of our loopholes and shortcomings to carry out sabotage activities.

Dear comrades,

Our revolution is advancing against a background where the situation in the world as well as in the Asia-Pacific region and Southeast Asia has undergone many changes with both favorable and complex aspects.

We have affirmed repeatedly that under any circumstance, our entire party, people, and armed forces will still unite as one and will still be resolved to devote all our mind and energy to successfully building socialism and firmly defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland.

For the cause of national defense, let our entire party, people, and armed forces develop our combined strength and increase our national defense and security capacity to resolutely defeat the multifaceted war of sabotage waged by the enemy and actively and successfully cope with all eventualities.

In the first stage of the period of transition to socialism in our country, the struggle to defeat the multifaceted war of sabotage waged by the hegemonists in collusion with imperialism is closely linked to the struggle to determine "who will triumph over whom" between the socialist and capitalist paths. Therefore, the tense, decisive, complex, and long-range character of that struggle will increase constantly.

The struggle to determine "who will triumph over whom" between the two paths will take place throughout the period of transition to socialism in our country, especially in its first stage.

While defining the general line and economic line for the period of transition to socialism, our party pointed out that the implementation of these lines is the objective of the class struggle in our country and that the "characteristics of that class struggle are the combination of transformation with construction, politics with the economy, peace with violence, persuasion with compulsion, and educational measures with administrative measures... "in which the task of advancing small-scale production to large-scale socialist production is a long-term and complex undertaking with decisive importance to the complete victory of socialism." (Footnote) (Political Report of the Party Central Committee at the Fourth National Congress of Party Delegates, Su That Publishing House, Hanoi 1977, pages 68-69).

The class struggle and the struggle between the two paths have a comprehensive effect on the economic, political, cultural, and ideological fronts... which shows itself mainly on the economic front and is particularly harsh in the field of circulation and distribution. The manifestations are the struggle between the interests of the entire people and private and partial interests; between democratic centralism and bureaucratic centralism and fragmentary, unorganized, and indisciplined tendencies; between the planning of the economy and the spontaneous tendency toward capitalism; between inventory and inspection and opposition to inventory and inspection; and so forth. Along with the economic front, the struggle on the cultural, ideological, and other fronts is no less difficult and complex.

Along with the struggle against the enemies of the working class, it would be wrong for us to close our eyes to negative phenomena in socioeconomic activities. These phenomena are the scourges of corruption and embezzlement of public property, bribery, coercion of the masses and, especially, the bad practice of establishing contacts with dishonest merchants to steal state-owned goods and materials for speculation and blackmarketeering, thus causing an upheaval in prices and disruption to the market. It is regrettable that these bad practices are being committed by a number of persons who have lost their sense of class in the face of unhealthy temptation and, especially, by politically degenerate and ethically corrupt elements who are still hiding in various party and state organs. The enemy is always seeking to exploit the degenerate and debauched and those greedy for personal gain among our ranks by pushing them onto the criminal path in order to serve its aims of sabotage.

We must firmly grasp the system of dictatorship of the proletariat, bring into full play the laboring people's collective mastery, simultaneously carry out the three revolutions, and be determined to triumph over all the vestiges of capitalism. Only in

this way can we build a new regime, new economy, new culture, and new socialist men and, at the same time, firmly maintain political security and public order and safety.

The present tasks of protecting national security and maintaining public order and safety require us to have new theoretical skills in accord with the law on class struggle in our country during the period of transition to socialism — the struggle of our nation against the expansionist forces, the imperialists, and other international reactionaries.

Defending socialism on a national scale involves not only the need to defend sovereignty and territorial integrity — without letting the enemy occupy an inch of our fatherland's soil — but also the need to defend the political system of the socialist regime; to defend the policy lines and organization of the CPV; to defend the unified solidarity bloc of the people of various nationalities; to defend the worker-peasant alliance bloc; to defend the new economy, new culture, and new men; and to defend the pure Marxist-Leninist thoughts now gradually flourishing in our country's revolutionary cause.

Building and defending are two sides of a task. Therefore, defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland must become a part of the process of developing socialist construction in our country. Defending the socialist Vietnamese fatherland must become ingrained in the thoughts and actions of every communist party member and of every Vietnamese citizen, whatever their position or field of activity. The spirit of revolutionary vigilance and the sense of defense must be constantly upheld by everyone in his daily work and must be regarded as a matter directly concerning the safety of life, work, labor, and production.

We must maintain constant vigilance against the enemy. They are sabotaging us in various areas without sparing any sectors or any establishments. They are taking advantage of all our negligences — no matter where they exist — to sabotage us. Not only have they resorted to overt and blatant tricks but they have also adopted those forms which outwardly look as if they "did not hurt anyone's feelings." In fact, they are very perfidious and dangerous. We must make our internal ranks clean and steadfast, scrupulously comply with the party discipline and the state law and order, strictly enforce all the management regulations and systems, resolutely do away with all negative phenomena, and guard against all negligence without giving the enemy any chance to sabotage us.

The defense task must become a mechanism in the field of management on a national scale, and in each public organ, each enterprise, and each population center and must become a sacred duty and a lofty right of every person. It should be pointed out here that the leader is to be the person who must take the main responsibility for the defense task. He must know that this is not a job beyond his functions.

We must closely coordinate the protection of public organs and enterprises with the maintenance of public order and security in population centers and in the streets, hamlets, and villages. Mass movements for the protection of both internal and external security and order should be initiated to promote security and order in public organs, enterprises, hospitals, schools...safety in the streets, subwards, and villages, and to establish interconnected safe zones and lines even in precincts, districts, provinces, and cities. This will be an extremely strong people's security network which no adversary can infiltrate and sabotage.



We must coordinate the implementation of socioeconomic tasks with efforts to counter enemy sabotage. Production must go hand in hand with protection of production; purification and strengthening of the internal ranks must be closely linked with internal protection and the suppression of negativism; economy must be combined with national defense and security and vice versa.

In the struggle to frustrate the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage and to guarantee political security and social order, the great aggregate strength of the dictatorship of the proletariat must be mobilized, the effectiveness of state management must be enhanced, and the working people's right to collective mastery must be brought into play. We must rely on the strength of the people, considering the people as the root and the people's public security forces and the people's army as the activists under the centralized and unified leadership of the party committees from the central to the grass-roots level. The people's public security forces and people's army must be made firm and strong in all respects. They must act in close coordination and stand ready to assist each other in all fields of activity of the struggle against internal enemies and external aggressors.

By striving to achieve success in carrying out these tasks, we will be taking the initiative in preventing and continually attacking the enemies, thus denying them the conditions for realizing their schemes and tricks of sabotage, steadily maintaining political security and social order, and firmly defending the fatherland. In so doing we will make practical contributions to our efforts to achieve success in implementing the socioeconomic tasks and objectives set forth by the party congress.

Comrades,

The resolution of the sixth national party congress of delegates is precisely the program of action of the Vietnam people's public security forces.

Boundless loyalty to the socialist fatherland, absolute submission to the party leadership, close solidarity with the people, scrupulous compliance with the constitution and state law, firm belief in the party's revolutionary cause, close unity around the party Central Committee, staying firm in the struggle against all enemies of socialism, maintaining the steady stand of the working class, showing the Vietnamese people's noble humanitarianism, and being thoroughly imbued with the spirit of proletarian internationalism — all this constitutes the principled foundation of the activities of all cadres and combatants of the Vietnam people's public security forces.

Keeping in mind the towering meritorious service of venerated and beloved Uncle Ho, all people's public security cadres and combatants must study, be deeply imbued with, and seriously implement his six teachings for the people's public security forces. They must engage in emulation activities to carry out the movement for "revolutionary actions in line with Uncle Ho's teachings and for building people's public security units which are firm and strong in all respects." The people's public security forces must make every effort to overcome shortcomings and weaknesses, be deeply imbued with the spirit of renovation, renovate their way of thinking, be responsive to the situation, renovate organization and cadres, and renovate their activities in order to further raise the quality and effectiveness of their work and fighting, thereby making worthy contributions to successfully implementing the resolution of the sixth national party congress of delegates.

Long live the heroic Vietnamese people!

Long live the heroic CPV!

Great President Ho Chi Minh will live forever in our cause!

All for the socialist fatherland and for the people's happiness!

/6091

CSO: 4209/396

PHAM VAN KIET, MINH HAI PROVINCE DELEGATION

BK100535 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 3

["Excerpts" from speech by Pham Van Kiet, delegate of Minh Hai provincial party organization, at the Sixth CPV Congress -- date not given]

[Text] Our party is a party that has correct mass viewpoints and is very skilled in mass motivation. By regarding the people as the base, caring for them, trusting them, and relying on them, it has maintained close and deep contact with the people, listened attentively to and received all of their suggestions, motivated and led them to take actions, and brought them one benefit after another. The people trust the party and vice versa. The people and the party are bound together by a vital, dialectical, flesh-and-blood relationship. That is the nature, tradition, and invincible strength of our party. Thanks to this, our Vietnamese revolution has overcome all difficulties, defeated all enemies, and realized great successes. But now, why have our party and state made grave mistakes that seriously harm the relationship between the party and the people? This is because the above lesson has been forgotten, the above concept has not been thoroughly understood, and mass motivation has been neglected under the conditions of a party in power.

It is necessary to make the entire party and the entire system of proletarian dictatorship profoundly aware of the mass viewpoints and mass motivation work of the party in the new stage. Under the conditions of a party in power and as our country is now carrying out the two strategic tasks and its lofty, heavy internationalist duty, the importance of mass motivation work has, instead of lessening, only increased further. We must constantly enhance the close relationship between the party and the masses, which is the tradition and strength of our party. Neglecting mass motivation work runs counter to our party's lines and viewpoints; it will lead to bureaucracy and alienation from the masses, deprive us of our vigilance against the enemy, and weaken the strength of the party and the proletarian dictatorship state.

First of all, it is necessary to affirm that mass motivation is a task of the party. The entire party must engage in mass motivation work. Party committee echelons must lead administrative organs and mass organizations in jointly carrying out mass motivation. All party members must of necessity participate in mass organization and social activities at their places of work and residence. Every party member must carry out propaganda and mass motivation

activities; be an example in labor, work, and life; and always maintain good relations with the masses. Mass motivation should be regarded as the criterion for assessing the purity, steadfastness, and strength of party members and organizations.

The important and difficult targets set at this congress can only be realized with the strength of the mass movement. The tasks involved in mass motivation work following this congress consist of the following: We must motivate and organize the masses to undertake revolutionary actions while taking the greatest care to foster the strength of the people, meeting the pressing demands of their lives, and improving the masses' capabilities in all respects; broadly apply socialist democracy; encourage the masses to struggle uncompromisingly against bureaucracy and all acts infringing on the interests and the rights to mastery of the laboring people; promptly discover and foil all of the enemy's schemes and maneuvers aimed at sowing confusion and division among the masses and winning their sympathy; and strengthening the relationship between the party and the masses.

To promote the mass movement we must not only carry out propaganda and education activities to evoke traditions and zeal, but must also care about the interests of the masses.

In order to turn possibilities into reality and to launch a widespread mass movement for revolutionary actions, it is of primary importance that we renovate economic and social policies to tap rapidly and effectively all the existing capacities and potentials of the economy, develop production, and care for the livelihood of the masses. Only by so doing can we consolidate and develop the revolutionary zeal of the masses and their confidence in the party and state.

Proceeding from the reality of the revolutionary movement and the livelihood of the masses at present, we must truly and attentively listen to the voice of the masses, review the good experience gained by progressive localities and basic units, and learn from the masses in order to either revise and supplement or boldly rescind at an early date inappropriate and unpopular policies and systems and to adopt suitable measures, forms, and steps. In the decision-making process, it is absolutely necessary to avoid subjectivism, self-complacency, and conservatism.

We must actively eliminate the bureaucratic mechanism of management based on state subsidies and effect a management mechanism based on democratic centralism, economic accounting, and socialist enterprise in order to encourage the laboring people to engage enthusiastically in production and enjoy the legitimate fruits of their labor; eliminate the negative phenomena displayed by bad elements who are enjoying illegitimate sources of income; and further improve social equity in the current situation.

At present, citizens' rights stipulated by the Constitution and law are still being violated in many respects and on a large scale. This causes great cause for concern and sorrow for many people and does major harm to the relationship between the party and state and the masses. This is an important and urgent duty of the mass motivation task of the party organizations, administrations, and mass organizations at all levels. We recommend that action be taken to revamp the organization and to punish severely and eliminate those degenerate elements who take advantage of party and state authority to skim off the wealth of the people and the state and to oppress and take



revenge on the people. We recommend that the tribunals and various organs of control, inspection, and security deal quickly with cases of violation of citizens' rights and state discipline and publicly announce the results. Those in positions of authority who protect violators must be properly subject to party discipline and state law. We recommend that henceforth in performing the task of control and inspection, in reporting and revising the achievements, and in evaluating the emulation results, special attention must be paid to checking whether the people's sympathy has been won or lost. Action must be taken to avoid running after material achievements. We have painfully heard of many cases in which the people's sympathy has been disregarded in an effort to score many material achievements to report to higher echelons, and some of the higher-level agencies also like to hear such reports, thus allowing subordinates to act this way continually.

In the renovation of economic mechanisms, the mastery role of the masses must be observed and developed. The collectivized workers must have the duty and right to formulate production and business plans, arrange production and organize labor, select management cadres, use the various funds of their installations, and control and supervise the management agencies. The basic party organizations should lead the trade unions to organize well the conferences of workers and civil servants in factories and agencies, uphold the role of collectivized peasants' associations, and sponsor the congresses of members of cooperatives and agricultural production collectives, making these congresses really a place where the laboring masses can have a decisive say and exercise mastery over their own units.

We recommend that the people's control network be strengthened along with perfecting the state inspection system, and that the organizations of state inspection and the people's control be combined into one broad and effective control network in all areas. The people's control organizations with trade unions and youth unions as a core must have a legal status and can perform the control task and participate in handling cases as authorized by law. A definite and clear policy on the organization and operation of the collectivized peasants' association should be formulated promptly.

Following this congress, we think that there should be policies and plans to carry out a fundamental survey in order to firmly grasp the class and social structures of the entire country and each locality after 10 years or more of socialist transformation and construction so that we will see the problems to be resolved. We recommend that the party Central Committee meet in this tenure to discuss specifically the mass motivation task based on the fundamental survey and review of mass motivation performances over the past years and to put forth guidelines, policies, and measures to guide the mass motivation task. The Central Committee Department of Civic Action together with various mass organizations and the Fatherland Front are dutybound to coordinate with some responsible agencies to help the party Central Committee fulfill this task satisfactorily.

Attention should be paid to building the contingent of civic action cadres of the party, mass organizations, and the front. This contingent plays an important role in the implementation of the mass motivation task. This is also an important source of cadres for the party and state machinery, especially cadres from the Ho Chi Minh City Communist Youth Union. The placement and selection of civic action cadres must follow clear criteria: Cadres must be outstanding people selected from the various mass movements, have a firm stand and viewpoints, and possess clear revolutionary ethics and some definite levels of cultural, scientific, and socioeconomic management knowledge and the ability to educate, organize, and mobilize the masses to perform revolutionary acts. We should avoid and overcome the practice of assigning civic action cadres



without following any criteria, and placing old, weak, and undesirable cadres on civic action jobs. The party committee echelons should be more attentive to the care of civic action cadres, motivate them well, respect and uphold their role and function, improve and rationalize policies toward them, and create favorable conditions for the civic action cadres of mass organizations and the front to operate. Moreover, as cadres performing the mass motivation task, they must strive to be self-reliant and self-supporting in overcoming all difficulties, and surge forward to fulfill their assigned duties. They should not be dependent and passive, waiting for the party and state to resolve problems for them.

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CSO: 4209/396

**VU MAO, HO CHI MINH CITY DELEGATION**

**BK100151 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Dec 86 pp 2, 3**

**["Excerpts" from speech by Vu Mao, delegate of the Ho Chi Minh City party organization, at the Sixth CPV Congress in Hanoi—date not given]**

**[Text] In the years ahead, the main task for the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union [HCMCYU] is to contribute to turning the resolutions of the Sixth CPV Congress into lively realities for the people's daily life. In this context, all members of the HCMCYU and youths throughout the country must concentrate their efforts on fulfilling the following three concrete tasks:**

**First, to educate, organize, and integrate all cadres and members of the HCMCYU and youths into a vanguard assault force to triumphantly fulfill the three main programs of the party. These programs play a very important role in creating conditions for the long-term development of our country and in ensuring a bright future for the youth. In fact, the HCMCYU and our young generation have a real and great labor capability. They have also acquired a good scientific and technological background and have consistently strengthened their intelligence, creativity, and skills to contribute to producing more products for the nation.**

**As a result, the HCMCYU must pay special attention to effectively carrying out this task by mobilizing its union members and youths to participate in the scientific and technological revolution. We regard the implementation of the scientific and technological revolution in our country at present as a law for building socialism. Meanwhile, the organization and mobilization of the union's cadres, members, and youths to actively participate in renovating the management mechanism have become urgent requirements for the above-mentioned task. With the assistance of the sectors concerned, the HCMCYU will formulate its concrete programs and plans to contribute to overcoming weaknesses, increasing labor productivity, and improving circulation and distribution, and so forth.**

**Second, to educate, organize, and mobilize all cadres, union members, and youths to lead the implementation of basic contents of the social policy set forth by the Sixth CPV Congress. We contend that the special attention of our congress to various problems as symbolized in the social policy, is in compliance with the aspiration of the people, especially the youth.**

We have an identity of views on various stands and viewpoints on problems of the social policy presented by the congress. We, however, propose some concrete points as follows:

The earnest aspiration of every youth in leading his life is to study, be trained in a profession, and provided with a job. This is also a matter of daily concern for their parents.

The essential task at present is to urgently formulate a policy on youth labor on the basis of concretizing Resolution No 62A of the Council of Ministers. This policy must be formulated in a way that it will attract young men and women to voluntarily participate in labor productivity not only in their localities but also in all remote areas of our country. This policy must provide conditions for the youth to contribute optimally their efforts and share the outcome of their achievements in an equal manner on the principle of to each according to his work [nguyeen tawcs phaan phoois theo lao doongj]. It must also show concern for the spiritual life of the youth. Regarding the ideological aspect, we propose that various educational sectors, mass media organizations, and parents must coordinate with the HCMCYU to help the youth to acquire a new thinking, affirming that the yardstick to measure man's dignity in society is labor with specific results and products rather than trying to join some specific organizations. This spirit must be clearly reflected in the policy on youth labor.

The problem of youth unemployment is becoming acute, especially in cities and towns. We think that city wards hold a very important position. This is the place where cooperatives and handicrafts and artisan industry groups are organized and the network of services is established to absorb youths of working age. While resolving the unemployment problem on the spot—the main guideline—we should form teams of young workers, specifically the assault youth units for economic building.

We unanimously agree with the policy of continuing labor cooperation with foreign countries, considering it a guideline of no less importance to youth. However, we ask that urgent action be taken to revamp all the tasks of selecting, educating, administering, and placing workers returning from abroad.

Resolving the youth unemployment problem is an urgent and long-term task. It therefore calls for general and comprehensive measures which also involve the population issue. With the current, explosive population growth, we recommend that within a short time, when guidance for the three economic target programs has developed into practice, our party institute a social program in which special attention will be paid to the issues of population growth and unemployment.

Third, youth union members and youths must be educated, organized, and mobilized to be pioneers in combat readiness and defense of the country, in maintaining political and public security and social order, in resolutely defeating the enemy's multifaceted war of sabotage, and in fulfilling the noble international obligations.

In order to satisfactorily fulfill the aforementioned tasks, we must first of all develop the positive role of youths in helping build the all-people national defense and the people's strong and heroic Armed Forces. We should intensively educate and prepare youths for their military obligations, emphasize the building of powerful reserve forces for the Army, successfully implement the Army's rear policy, ensure social justice, and help arrange jobs for those youths who return after completing their military duty. We should vigorously accelerate the movement "for the frontline strongholds" to give practical aid to the frontline. At the same time, we should develop the movement of "solidarity among youths of the three forces," expand the area of operation of the security assault youth force, struggle against negativism, and help reestablish discipline and order in socioeconomic activities.

This congress of our party reflects the spirit of profound renovation. In order to keep abreast of the tasks set by the congress, the youth union tasks should be renovated in the following ways:

First, the thinking of the youth motivation task should be renovated. Under the conditions of a ruling party, the youth task must be performed with the integrated strength of proletarian dictatorship. Under the party leadership, the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union is helping the party organize work coordination and labor division and, at the same time, serves as a core in the system. Resolution No 26 of the Political Bureau indicates that the youth union is the party's combat reserve group. It considers the development of the union as an inseparable component of the party development task. The development of the revolutionary process in the new stage in our country requires the party to exact comprehensively high demands from the youth union. At the same time, it also demands the party strengthen and renovate its leadership over the youth task. We recommend that youth law be promulgated soon.

Second, the behavior toward youth union task should be renovated. Youths constitute a special objective of the masses for the party. They have their own demands for development, especially the demands for being assembled and comprehensively guided in their study, work, and life. Renovating the behavior toward the youth union task is now mainly to overcome the manifestations of red tape, bureaucracy, separation from the people, formalism, and showiness. Youth union cadres must be primarily selected from among the mass movements. They must have the zeal to serve the people, know how to detect and support the new things and how to work creatively, always considering the practical results of each assigned task.

Renovating the behavior toward the youth union task can be further manifested by the fact that the Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union should positively participate in formulating the lines and policies of the party and state, through contributing its views and through reflecting the legitimate aspirations and interests of the masses. It should not merely accept lines and policies in a passive manner. Renovating the behavior toward the union task is a process closely linked to the renovation of organization, apparatus, and cadre contingent of the union.



Third, the education for youths should be renovated. The CPV Congress resolution has clearly pointed out that human beings are the means for the revolutionary struggle. For this reason, we must let our youths learn the reality of life at school and through their activities. To renovate the education for youths, first we must closely combine study with practice. For our younger generation, if we want them to firmly grasp the revolutionary ideal, have confidence in socialism, and maintain the socialist moral, an impetus for fulfilling tasks, a sense of responsibility, and so forth, we must, first of all, help them understand the real situation in our country on the basis of facing and correctly analyzing the facts. We should not feed them one-sided information by letting them know only the good side and concealing deficiency, while assigning them the historic, heavy, and glorious tasks. The formulation of an educational program for each stage is carried out on the basis of the requirements of the revolutionary task and requirements to solve various problems in the people's daily life, and not on the basis of general theories. We must pay special attention to encouraging youths and teenagers to positively participate in productive labor and social activities. Through these tasks, we will build in them a positive mind for social tasks. The educational form and method must be applied actively in compliance with set objectives. We must, in particular, help and guide our youths and teenagers to study diligently, while reviewing each one's performance. We must pay attention to caring for teenagers and children and creating favorable conditions for them to satisfactorily carry out the five teachings of President Ho Chi Minh.

Fourth, the cadre-related task of the youth union must be renovated. The important change for cadres of the union is their assignments to various party and state sectors. This situation has led to a regular shortage of cadres and passiveness in the training of new contingents. To renovate the cadre-related task, first of all, we must formulate plans for training two categories of cadres, one for specialized work and another for nonspecific work. We propose that various echelons of party committees pay more attention to this matter and include the cadre-related task of the youth union into the planning of the task of training party cadres.

We are struggling to overcome the old thinking, reluctant attitude, and a tendency to avoid carrying out the cadre-related task. We have strived to implement the principle of assigning tasks to and creating favorable conditions for young men and women to fulfill their work. We have demanded of them good behavior, high quality, and best result of their tasks. Meanwhile, we have engaged in changing the program and method of training with an aim to produce a contingent of capable cadres who are willing to live closely with the younger generation.

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CSO: 4209/396

**LE THANH NHAN, HAU GIANG PROVINCE DELEGATION**

BK031200 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 86 pp 6, 7

[Speech by Hau Giang provincial party organization delegate Le Thanh Nhan at the sixth national party congress; date not given]

[Text] Our delegation is elated by the serious attitude with which the Central Committee accepted the views which the various party congresses at all levels contributed to the revised Political Report presented at this congress in the spirit of looking squarely at the real situation of our country and in speaking frankly of achievements as well as mistakes and shortcomings over the past years. We totally agree with the contents of the report.

As an agricultural province with a quite large cultivated area in the Mekong Delta, the party and people of Hau Giang have clearly realized their responsibility toward the grain problem nationwide. We have daily watched and sympathized with the concern of the Central Committee in trying to resolve this urgent problem. Efforts have been constantly exerted over the past few years to cope with the grain problem — a problem that, in our opinion, we can totally resolve on the basis of our realistic capabilities.

We have correctly considered agriculture as the foremost battlefield and grain as the number one priority. However, we have, in fact, not acted along that line.

Between 1981 and 1984, the capital invested by the central government in agriculture nationwide only accounted for 21.33 percent of the total; we think this was very small (not to mention as to whether or not this capital was designed to meet requirements and given to the right localities on schedule). With regard to Hau Giang in particular, what little capital directly invested by the central government gradually decreased (from 30.4 percent of the province's total capital investment in 1976-80 to 11.63 percent in 1981-84). Water conservation is of primary importance; but over the past 5 years, only 12.85 dong per hectare we earmarked by the central government for this purpose. This amount reached only 37.85 dong per hectare even after including local funding.

Fertilizer and insecticides are badly needed for intensive cultivation and multicropping; but they have been supplied in very small quantities and often did not meet the crop cultivation schedule. Every year, Hau Giang needs 125,000-130,000 metric tons of nitrogen fertilizer (in SA [synthetic ammonia] equivalent), 20,000 metric tons of phosphate, 2,000 metric tons of potash, and 2,000 metric tons of insecticides; but the central government supplies on the average only 58,000 metric tons of nitrogen fertilizer (46 percent of what is needed), 2,900 metric tons of phosphate (14 percent),

and 780 metric tons of insecticides (39 percent). This is not to mention that gasoline and oil (needed for tilling and drought and waterlogging control), draft power, drying space, storage space... are badly insufficient; and generally the availability of fixed assets per hectare is very low.

Faced with such a situation, what can we do to realize satisfactorily the grain and food program set forth in the congress resolution? We have on many occasions made suggestions; and today I would like to continue making suggestions based on the ideas contributed at party congresses held at various levels in our province.

One: The central government should concentrate investment in agricultural production, especially grain production, to boost productivity and output in the most productive areas that are seldom hit by natural calamities such as typhoons and flooding and are capable of turning out plenty of grain.

In our opinion, the Mekong Delta, with its large area of arable land and favorable climate, is a region with great potential for producing grain and food and producing and processing agricultural and marine products for export. Therefore, appropriate concentrated investments should be made to tap its potentials more satisfactorily at an early date in order to meet the local demand for grain and make an important contribution to the whole country. This does not mean that we take other grain-producing regions lightly.

Two: Given little capital investment and limited capability of the central government, we ask that the central government establish fixed grain quotas for the localities on a 5-year basis and allow the localities to balance their budgets by using the products they have turned out. After fulfilling their quotas, they may engage in export and effect economic integration with other localities in order to purchase equipment and supplies needed for agricultural production and consumer goods for local use and to make a contribution to the entire country.

Three: The central government and the ministries concerned should study the adoption of appropriate policies designed to resolve the production of grain by establishing the ratio for 2-way exchanges (of fertilizer, insecticides, gasoline and oil, timber, and cement for paddy...) with the peasants; readjust the price of paddy for each crop season; reduce agricultural taxes because the current policy involves an all too detailed classification of lands into 7 hectare); adjust rationally the prices of industrial consumer goods to make them compatible with the prices of grain, other agricultural products, and foodstuffs; and provide incentives for cadres of villages producing grain and food and making contributions to the state whose life is still beset with difficulties.

In the past 10 years, in the spirit of the entire country and with the entire country, we have, in spite of inadequate and untimely supply of materials, striven to mobilize funds from the local budget and brought into play the masses' self-reliant spirit to step up the development of grain production; consequently, we have been able to procure a total of 2.588 million metric tons of paddy, of which 2.019 million metric tons have been delivered to the central government — averaging 201,900 metric tons a year or 681 kg per hectare of cultivated land.

This is a great effort of our peasants in the province. As for our part, in the spirit of forthright self-criticism, we conducted self-criticism in the recent provincial party congress and admitted that we have not properly taken care of the livelihood of the people in the province (90 percent or so of whom are laboring peasants) so that 10

years after liberation, people in many outlying rural areas and ethnic people in several regions in the province still lack food in pre-harvest periods. In some localities, following the harvest, after paying taxes and paying for materials in the two-way contracts and other expenses, people have no rice left for themselves. There are still critical shortages of houses, lighting oil, medicines, transportation, and schools in the rural areas, especially in those outlying areas and the former resistance bases. The spiritual life in terms of cultural and artistic entertainment is still very poor.

From this podium, we would like to report this real situation to the congress because a few comrades may not have gone to the outlying areas and learned about the livelihood of our peasants. They might think that peasants now have a stable life with high income. Some have even hinted at adjusting peasants' income. If such a view is carried out, the life of peasants will become even more difficult, especially in the area where only one rice crop is planted yearly. This will affect the worker-peasant alliance.

In the spirit of using the people as a base, we should take care of the livelihood of our people, large numbers of whom are laboring peasants. We resolve to take better care of our local people to foster their strength. At the same time, we ask the Central Committee and other central government agencies to make specific studies and formulate policies to better deal with the livelihood problems of peasants so that they can have peace of mind and enthusiasm in developing production and turning out more grain, food products, and consumer goods for the country. Moreover, the realities in Hau Giang Province have shown that leadership over the task of mass motivation should be intensified to build strong and firm mass organizations serving as a core in the revolutionary mass movement. In the countryside, prime attention must be paid to the organization of collectivized peasants' association. Relying on this association, we should perform well the task of educating peasants on socialist revolutionary awareness, serve as a core for the production and thrift movements, care for the peasants' livelihood, and mobilize the laboring peasantry — the largest force in society — to participate actively in national construction and defense and to strengthen the worker-peasant alliance bloc in the advance to socialism.

At all levels of the party congresses in our province, we had a common observation that the forth and fifth party congress resolutions and all other resolutions of the party Central Committee are correct but many of these resolutions and lines have not been implemented well. At times, there was deviation because specific policies, especially appropriate economic policies, had not been formulated; political and ideological tasks have not been well implemented to make the young people thoroughly understand the spirit of resolutions and policies; and placement of cadres and the organization of implementation still show many shortcomings.

Consequently, we deem the following as necessary:

First, following this congress, an indoctrination drive should be conducted among all party members and the people to make all cadres and party members well aware of the spirit and contents of the congress resolution, especially the renovation of thinking in the party with respect to the viewpoints on economy, and the ideological, organizational, and cadre-related tasks in order to overcome by all means the recent mistakes and shortcomings of our party.

Second, the Central Committee should promptly formulate specific policies to encourage the production development and resolve the current problems of prices, wages and



money. It should resolutely revamp the party's organizational apparatus at all levels, the administration and mass organizations. In particular, the administration at all levels must be streamlined and able to implement satisfactorily all policies and resolutions adopted by the congress, especially to implement successfully the three programs for grain and food products, consumer goods, and export goods.

Third, leadership and the organization of implementation must be improved satisfactorily. Leading cadres must stay close to the grass-roots level and the masses and consult with and listen to their subordinates and the people every time they want to adopt any policy related to the masses. Cadres should be assigned to implement each specific policy and to follow up and control regularly the implementation of resolutions. He who has not thoroughly understood or agreed with given policy will not be assigned to implement that policy. He who has not fulfilled his task should be resolutely asked to finish it. He who has not satisfactorily performed or performed against the party resolution must be thoroughly criticized. If the shortcomings are serious, severe disciplinary measures must be applied, no matter what positions the persons involved may hold. The laxity in party organization and discipline must be overcome. Moreover, subordinates must submit timely reports to their superiors and the latter must give adequate and timely answers to their subordinates' requests and petitions and must handle the people's complaints and letters of denunciation in accordance with law.

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CSO: 4209/396

TRAN NHON, CENTRAL AGRICULTURAL ORGANS DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Dec 86 p 2

[Excerpts from speech by Tran Nhon, a delegate from the party organization of central agricultural organs: "Increase Investment in Building Water Conservancy Projects and Strengthening Dikes to Prevent and Fight Floods and Storms"]

[Text] We can easily agree that the water conservancy projects bring about great combined benefits, but there is as yet no single method for calculating how many there should be. When a decision is made to build a water conservancy project we draft an economic-technical justification which takes into consideration economic benefit but only to compare it to the economic-technical norm of the state, such as those regarding the period of capital recovery and the coefficient of effectiveness, while little attention is paid to the absolute value of the economic benefit. Of course, in order to calculate the time of capital return or the coefficient of benefit it is necessary to be able to calculate the additional annual benefit brought about by the water conservancy project. But the value that is calculated only reflects to a small degree in comparison to the effectiveness of the project, for the following two reasons:

First, we only calculate one or two particular economic benefits, while a water conservancy project brings about many combined economic-social benefits.

Furthermore, in view of the actual situation and characteristics of our country, the party has pointed out for us the path of advancing on the basis of land and labor. It is on the basis of land and labor that we must create much wealth for society and accumulate capital with which to industrialize the nation. The water conservancy projects are keys which open the way for land and labor to meet other and become intertwined with each other. Only if land is combined with water can people and the land become even more closely intertwined. Only if we cause "land to become reconciled with water" can people have conditions for fully exploiting the land, and only thereby can people have conditions for fully bringing their labor into play on the land they are cultivating.

Second, at present, when calculating the pure profit brought about by a water conservancy project, in addition to seeds, materials, fertilizer, etc., we

also exclude payments to workers participating in creating the increased production (grain), which does not accurately reflect the true nature of the problem, for from the point of view of effectiveness with regard to the national economy that increased labor value must not be excluded but must be included in the increased value of the national income. The reason is that without controllable irrigation and drainage the value of that labor could never be realized! Only by "reconciling water with land" can new labor value be created for the national economy, and only then can the nation's agricultural output be increased (salaries are a component of national income).

In the world, there is a tendency for the pace of construction of water conservancy projects to steadily increase. The total irrigated area amounts to about 17 percent of the cultivated land, but it supplies half of the world's agricultural output.

On the basis of the actual lessons regarding the effectiveness of the construction of water conservancy projects, we have become increasingly imbued with the precious instructions and profound concern of V.I. Lenin and President Ho Chi Minh for water conservancy. We realize more and more clearly the necessity for setting aside more water conservancy and going all-out to guide the construction of complete water conservancy projects, quickly bring the projects into play, and quickly bring about many benefits for the nation.

The strengthening of dikes to prevent and fight floods and storms is a tradition, an obligation, and a principle of our country and people. No one can argue with that.

But with regard to the structure of investment, at present investment in dikes to prevent floods and storms is included in the capital invested in the water conservancy. It amounts to about 10 percent of the capital invested in water conservancy capital construction, which is irrational. Dikes to prevent and fight storms and floods involve the use of water conservancy technology, but their goal and use is to protect the entire national economy and the life and property of society as a whole. In the areas dikes must protect there are not only irrigation installations but also many other industrial, transportation, national defense, cultural, social, and other installations, the value of which amounts to tens of billions of dong and is steadily increasing. Why is the amount of capital invested in facilities to protect those installations be included in capital invested in the water conservancy sector, which is already too small?

If a family would continue to buy expensive furniture but be reluctant to spend money on strong and durable doors and walls, could it keep those possessions?

Therefore, capital invested in dikes to prevent and fight floods and storms must account for an appropriate part of the capital invested in the national economy. It must at least amount to an appropriate part of the capital construction capital of all sectors in areas protected by dike systems, and must correspond to the value of the things being protected. The water conservancy sector only fulfills the mission of implementing technical

measures and managing the investment of that capital in the most effective manner, and does not use its sector's capital to subsidize all sectors in preventing natural disasters.

When referring to that matter, it is certain that the comrades who are not yet sympathetic will ask how, when the basic construction capital situation is very tense and all sectors are demanding increases, the state could obtain such amounts. I would like to say that all sectors demand increased capital, but we must carefully consider which sectors' demands are correct and suitable to the objective conditions, which sectors must be cut down, and which goals must be reduced. Only if we take the view that protecting production is a strategic matter in-depth investment in which brings about great benefits (by eliminating large losses) can we realize that dikes are extremely important installations for protecting production which must receive appropriate investment. The actual capabilities for overcoming difficulties with regard to finance in this regard is to deduct about 10 percent from the annual capital construction fund. That would not create any notable difficulties for capital construction in general. If a project's funds are reduced by 10 percent, as a contribution of capital to purchase protective facilities, its construction rate will be reduced by only 10 percent, which would be ideal at the present time!

An important matter in the work of strengthening dikes to guard against and fight floods and storms is the organization and use of forces in emergency work. For a long time we have only stressed the "four on-the-spots" slogan and have relied on the people. Mobilizing the people and local mobilization to serve the prevention and fighting floods are correct and necessary. Places which have not done a good job of applying that slogan have encountered many difficulties. But that is not sufficient. The work of guarding against and fighting floods and storms requires the mobilization of the combined strength of society as a whole, including mobile main-force emergency forces to promptly and effectively assist the local and on-the-spot forces. Our country often refers to the four calamities: water, fire, pestilence, and war. In opposing foreign invaders we had militia and guerrilla forces, local troops, and even powerful main-force troops, so we won glorious victories. In preventing and fighting fires and robberies, in addition to the popular networks in the hamlets, villages, and subprecincts we have well-equipped public security forces. But in preventing and fighting floods we do not have a single important force and lack mobile main-force units with modern equipment which can respond promptly and coordinate with the on-the-spot forces in overcoming them. At present, the flood and storm mobilization committees include all sorts of representatives, but when it is necessary to mobilize a facility much time is lost in negotiating.

Since 1971 we have had specialized dike management forces, which have done a very good job of serving as the back bone of the "four on-the spots." In the future such forces must be organized for the places with dikes south of Binh Tri Thien. But it will still be necessary to have mobile main-force units and materiel stockpiles to fight floods in the important diked areas, especially in the Red River Delta.



We will be able to make all-out efforts to organize such forces along the lines of production and commerce with economic accounting, so that they can support themselves and in order to reduce state subsidies to the maximum extent possible. We will make all-out efforts to found year-round work for those forces. If there is adequate investment in dikes and breakwaters in future years, that problem will be resolved. In the rain season those forces will always be in a state of readiness, and will be prepared to move rapidly.

There has been great investment in the construction of water conservancy projects and dikes to prevent and fight floods and storms, but the subsidy system caused it to be overshadowed. We are drafting a national financial policy intended to raise maximum funds and fully develop all capabilities and potential of the nation. We think that in that policy the structure of investment in constructing water conservancy projects and dikes to prevent floods and storms must be renovated so that it can be appropriate to the resolution of the Eighth Plenum of the VCP, the resolutions of the Political Bureau, and the other recent Central Committee resolutions. That structure and policy will prevent us from blindly, subjectively, and hastily pursuing "foibles," and will encourage us to return to our forte, tie together land and water, exploit all potential of land and labor, positively contribute to the most important front--agriculture--advance agriculture to large-scale socialist production, create increasingly larger capital accumulations, and create a solid basis for industrializing the initiative in preventing and fighting floods and storms to the maximum extent possible, protect production, protect the economy, and protect the lives and policies of the people.

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CSO: 4209/268

DUONG VAN PHUC, HO CHI MINH CITY DELEGATION

BK111106 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Dec 86 p 3

["Excerpts" from speech by Duong Van Phuc, retired cadre and delegate of Ho Chi Minh City party organization, at the Sixth CPV Congress -- date not given]

[Text] Before I left for the congress, the comrade retirees at the Ho Chi Minh City Club, with their boundless confidence in the sixth congress and the new Executive Committee, gave me various words of advice and suggestions which can be summed up as follows: "While attending the congress, you must seek permission to express the views of the old comrades so that upon your return, you will be able to fill them with enthusiasm and elation by reporting that the sixth congress has opted for renovation -- especially renovation in thinking, in economic construction, and in personnel -- and elected talented and virtuous leaders to advance the country, or in other words, that the sixth congress has achieved success."

The party lines are definitely correct in some aspects and erroneous in others; they cannot be totally wrong. If there are good personnel who, with a sense of responsibility befitting party members and a sense of service toward the party and the people, implement these lines in a creative manner, errors will be corrected.

It is not a coincidence that the Central Committee has, in its draft political report, affirmed very correctly that agriculture is truly a primary front. Wasting 10 years has been too dear a price to pay for this experience. Now that agriculture has been truly upgraded to a primary front, we suggest that the Central Committee boldly invest in the Mekong River Delta because that region, which is a rice bowl and a rich source of rubles and dollars, will annually produce 2-3 million additional metric tons of rice to feed the entire country. To be correct, the Central Committee should consider the Red River Delta second in importance.

It is also not a coincidence that the Central Committee considers Ho Chi Minh City as an industrial center. And if the city has truly been recognized as an industrial center for many years, now, I am certain the Central Committee has also noticed that the machinery left behind by the United States has now become obsolete and can no longer turn out good products in great quantities. In addition to that, raw materials and supplies are always insufficient. I think it impossible for us to forget the entire people's demand for essential consumer goods which are now in short supply. More than anyone else, the people, especially workers and state employees, hope the Central Committee and government will see to it that the city will be able to

abundantly produce goods for consumption as well as for export. There are favorable and sure conditions for success because the city has at its disposal skilled workers and a large number of scientists and technicians who are earnestly willing to use their talents to serve the people under the leadership of the city party committee.

It is no coincidence that the Central Committee has recognized Ho Chi Minh City as an export-import and foreign trade center where customers gather in large numbers and where we have many favorable conditions for trading with foreign countries. However, export-import activities, instead of truly being concentrated in the city, have been conducted on a scattered basis and without any coordination by the various provinces. Furthermore, the Central Committee has not yet given the city and the large factories there the necessary authority in their operations; nor has it boldly allowed them to establish broad contact with foreign countries.

Nor is it a coincidence that the Central Committee has decided to build the Tri An hydroelectric power plant. The Central Committee has clearly seen that in order to advance to socialism, we must first of all have electricity. As the entire south is an agricultural, industrial and gas and oil center, the Central Committee has wholeheartedly aided the Tri An project. Nevertheless, why is it that the Tri An project has been constantly short of capital, raw material, supplies, and even labor? This situation is jeopardizing its plan to activate the No 1 turbine generator in December 1987 and making both the Vietnamese workers and Soviet specialists there worry about their failure to complete the construction plan.

We suggest that the Central Committee make an extra effort to help the Tri An hydroelectric project fulfill its plan by December 1987. I am sure the entire people of the south will be glad, for this will be the first time they will have built a hydroelectric project with Soviet aid.

As we all know, the livelihood of the people throughout the country is a major and pressing issue which the people are daily hoping the sixth congress will resolve.

Therefore, in the view of our old comrades, "the party should have cared for the people's employment." It will be best if the party sees to it that every citizen is employed and that the people can produce wealth to meet the demands of their subsistence, education, and production and contribute to the state.

Moreover, for the past decade and more, our people have been all too poor: some have even gone hungry. If the people are to be considered as roots, we must see to it that every citizen has some funds in reserve. For the peasants, they must save part of their crop harvest for use in time of need. Regarding laborers and small merchants — including workers and employees of the state, families eligible for social benefits, and retirees — they must also have funds in reserve for emergency use by their families. Only in this way can the people be regarded as roots. We are not afraid that the people may become rich, because rich people will make a country strong. Nevertheless, no one now is so rich that he can become bourgeois or a landowner. Even if the people become rich, they will never turn against their own fatherland as recorded by history and traditions. The people will back any state that can guarantee their subsistence, education, and production. If the state cannot do this, the people will go elsewhere to earn their living; and there is no alternative.

The city and the southern provinces have much work to do and many ways to enrich the country. The south is a large region with many economic centers. At the same time, it has contact with foreign countries, first of all Laos and Cambodia, not to mention those capitalist countries wanting to do business with the city, including Thailand which wants to establish economic relations with the city, especially in the field of sea fishery. In addition to that, there are many other big business operations which we have yet to undertake; we will talk about them later.

In view of that situation, our old comrades suggest that the Central Committee set up an organ especially charged with leading the south to resolve all the pertinent issues in order to rapidly restore our national economy.

The party should see to it that its cadres and members satisfactorily act as true servants of the people as taught by Uncle Ho. All party members must join in our uncles' heartbeats. Now more than ever before, we must try by every means to unite around our genuine Communist Party of Vietnam, a party which has for many years rendered great services to the people. At the sixth congress, we should jointly urge all party members to resolutely observe Uncle Ho's teachings regarding absolute justice, impartiality, diligence, thrift, honesty, and integrity, and urge all cadres to truly make themselves loyal servants of the people and to consider the people as roots as Comrade Truong Chinh said. We must avoid a situation in which year in and year out, state organs keep throwing parties and cadres seek riches for themselves and vie for positions, resulting in disunity while the impoverished people live in hovels, do not have enough rice to eat, are not adequately clothed, and lack schooling and medical care.

We hope this congress will have the resolve to foster the working class and at the same time, to include more workers into the Executive Committee in order to enhance the vitality and new thinking of the proletariat. Let our entire party, people, and Army unite and surge forward!

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CSO: 4209/396



**A MA PUI, DAC LAC PROVINCE DELEGATION**

**BK110645 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Dec 86 p 3**

**[Speech delivered by Dac Lac Provincial Party Organization Delegate A Ma Pui at the Sixth CPV Congress]**

**[Text]** Directed and assisted by the central government, over the years Dac Lac Province has striven hard and has attained initial successes in its new mandate. We have joined the entire country in carrying out the two strategic tasks of the revolution. Meanwhile, we have also committed many shortcomings and irregularities, thereby greatly limiting our successes.

On the economic transformation, construction, and development front, the greatest and most decisive success is that Dac Lac succeeded in gradually building a new agriculture. It is also due to irregularities and shortcomings in agricultural guidance that the pace of socioeconomic development in our province has been greatly affected.

The following are comparative statistics that testify to our successes:

—In 1976, with a population of 350,000, Dac Lac Province had a per-capita grain output of 190 kg in paddy equivalent. Rice was chiefly cultivated in terrace ricefields or slash-and-burn areas and the average paddy production output was put at 1 metric ton per hectare. In 1986, the province's population grew to 700,000 (Dac Lac received 30,000 compatriots in 10 years, coming to build new economic zones), its per-capita grain output rose to 320 kg with rice chiefly produced from watered ricefields. Its annual grain production output increased 5- to 10-fold over that in the past.

In 1976, except for a number of plantations that made up a small area of land occupied by the colonialists and the bourgeoisie, the bulk of the remaining arable lands at that time was used for monocropping and there was no remarkable marketable products. Today, our province's agriculture is shifting vigorously to becoming a comprehensively developed one. Specialized cultivation of target crops is being given greater attention and there is a possibility for turning it into a marketable commodity industry. In 1986, Dac Lac Province has had a coffee area covering 28,000 hectares and a rubber area covering 13,000 hectares. It has also had over 30,000 hectares of other short-term agricultural products crops designed to turn out marketable

products. If calculated in terms of value, the value of marketable agricultural products has constituted a bulk of the province's total agricultural production value.

--Alongside agriculture, forestry in Dac Lac has also been reorganized and has, over the past 10 years, provided one-third of the country's total log exploitation volume.

--In agro-forestry production relations, today Dac Lac has had over 80 state- and locally-run agricultural farms and forestry sites belonging to the three specialized production sectors, 212 cooperatives, and 200 agricultural production collectives which manage the bulk of the province's arable area, forests, and material-technical bases and which produce the bulk of the province's agro-forestry products.

Over the past 3 years, family economies have also been brought to relatively widespread play, thereby making important contributions to the national economy in terms of grain, food, and other export-oriented agricultural products.

However, our province's agriculture would have been able to make greater progress if we had not committed shortcomings in both our perceptions and our guidance for work implementation. These shortcomings are:

--First, over the years we have been heavily inclined to build a self-sufficient agriculture, especially in terms of grain, without showing any initiatives in building a commodities-based agriculture suitable to the natural and economic conditions of Dac Lac, a province that is endowed with the strengths in marketable agricultural-forestry products, the export-oriented production of which should have been given keen attention.

--Second, over the years, while speaking about agriculture being our most important front, we have perceived this matter in a very simplistic manner as we have dealt solely with agricultural production without linking agriculture with industry right from the beginning. Especially we have failed to pay attention to developing industrial, small-industry, and handicraft sectors and establishments and to serve agro-forestry production while increasing the agro-forestry production value. We have also failed to link production with distribution and circulation and production with the development of grass-roots establishments. These shortcomings are the causes of the slow growth rate of agricultural production output, low agro-forestry production value, great waste in materials, and losses in barter trade and exports.

--Third, the province's perception of socialist transformation and its policy toward various economic elements are still too simplistic and, at times, hasty and rigid, thereby remaining aloof from the reality and the actual economic situation. This contains the development of existing production capabilities in society, including the work force and technical skills which are needed for amassing more wealth for society and the development of which now constitutes the most pressing requirement. Since 1983, the policy on family economies has been promoted. In 1986, the coffee production sector

of family economies has contributed 3,000 metric tons of coffee to the state for export, accounting for nearly half of the province's total coffee production output. And this has been made possible with little capital investment from the state.

—Fourth, as we all want to see the vigorous growth of our state- and collective-run economic sectors, the state- and collective-run agro-forestry sectors have played a main, comprehensive role in Dac Lac. Nevertheless, the province's counterproductive centralized bureaucratic, subsidy-based management system which is full of red tape has contained or negated all the effective production and business capabilities of various socialist economic units, especially state-run economic units. As a result, the more state-run economic units we had, the greater business losses we suffered as seen in the past years. This, however, absolutely should not lead to the conclusion that there is no need to develop the socialist economy in general and the state-run economy sector in particular. This fact raises a contradiction to be resolved, that is, while there is a need for us to develop the socialist economy vigorously, our management mechanism ruins the state-run economic sector's potential to move forward in carrying out its production and business activities effectively and to develop its strengths and its superiority over other economic elements. Facts obtained by Dac Lac over the past few years through initial changes in the management mechanism show that the state-run economic sector has also experienced initial changes with a new vitality. This has testified to its superiority in production and business as well as in product quality and production efficiency. It is regrettable that this lesson has been experienced too late and has yet to be fully learned by our party organization.

—Fifth, as for the development of the centrally- and locally-run agro-forestry economic sectors in Dac Lac, the forming of specialized economic-technical branches in the agro-forestry sector such as the coffee, rubber, and forestry branches has been in line with the trend toward bringing agro-forestry gradually to large-scale socialist production and in conformity with the natural and economic conditions of Dac Lac. This development is one of the positive factors for socioeconomic development. It has contributed to strengthening national security and defense in our province over the years. However, many negative and irrational factors have also emerged and are hampering efforts to score maximum socioeconomic results in this field, especially in districts.

We should base ourselves on the most correct viewpoint, taking into account the economic efficiency of each grass-roots unit and sector, as well as the general socioeconomic results of the economy as a whole, so as to promptly unravel the bottlenecks and to establish relations among different sectors and between sectors and territorial divisions. This is precisely a measure aimed at liberating the extremely great agricultural and forestry forces and capabilities of our province to achieve maximum socioeconomic efficiency.

With its sense of responsibility toward the country, the delegation of Dac Lac Province would like to suggest that the next Central Committee consider Dac Lac and the three other central highland provinces as major regions for

production of agricultural and forest products and special products for export of the country, at least for the next 5 or 10 years of the state plan, so that adequate resources can be concentrated, concrete policies can be worked out, and appropriate systems can be adopted not only to mobilize the capabilities in the country but also to create favorable conditions for further expanding direct cooperation with various fraternal socialist countries in numerous appropriate forms. This is aimed at translating at an early date our present capabilities into successful realities in our field of export. In a certain sense, we think that this has been one of the delays in our economic strategy in the past.

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**NGUYEN HUU QUANG, CENTRAL AGRICULTURAL ORGANS DELEGATION**

**BK111430 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 23 Dec 86 p 2**

**["Excerpt" from address by Nguyen Huu Quang, candidate PhD, delegate of the bloc of central agricultural organs, at the Sixth CPV Congress—date not given]**

**[Text] Creating sufficient raw materials is a question of decisive significance for the efforts to meet the demand for timber in capital construction, for necessary ordinary furniture for the people, and for materials for the production of paper, yarn, shuttles, matches, packages, school equipment, and equipment in the service of grain and foodstuff production.**

**The amount of timber needed for making furniture for new homes, repairing old houses, and building stables alone totals nearly 6-7 million cubic meters annually.**

**However, for many reasons, especially because of the destruction of forests to build upland fields and open up new land and because of the abusive exploitation of the forest assets, our forests have been seriously ravaged; the average per capita timber reserve has dwindled to above 10 cubic meters, that is, only one-ninth of that of the world. Good timber has become increasingly scarce.**

**With the pressure of population growth, with the present upheavals concerning the forest resources, and with increasing demands, the contradiction between forest product supply and demand will become even more acute.**

**The question posed to us is whether we can resolve this contradiction and how.**

**We think that, although the problem is a very difficult one, we must and can resolve it by means of highly scientific and revolutionary measures. Specifically, we must:**

- 1. Rely on the people and continue to vigorously launch the tree-planting movement in the delta, along the coast, in the suburban areas, and in the midlands. Each person, each family, each unit, and each school should accept land allocated to them to plant fast-growing trees, trees that yield both fruits and firewood and timber, so that 5 and 10 years later they can be self-sufficient in firewood, timber for home use, and raw materials for the**

processing industry, small industry, and handicrafts, and for their own families, their own cooperatives, their own units, and their own districts. At present, throughout the country a great many cooperatives, households, and units have become experienced in tree planting and have effectively carried out this task, gaining benefits in many respects as Uncle Ho had taught.

Households, cooperatives, and units in mountainous areas should accept forests and land allocated to them to protect and make the forest resources richer, to grow young trees of special species and industrial plants according to the formula of combining agriculture with forestry. Agriculture, forestry, and related scientific and technical sectors, together with the localities, should concentrate on bringing the green revolution to the hilly areas to resolve the problem of grain and foodstuffs and to meet the demand for firewood, timber, and special export products in the mountainous regions while still seeing to it that forests are preserved. We must appoint certain people to be in charge of forests and severely punish all acts of forest destruction. Many cooperatives, families which have adopted settled farming and settled life, and units stationed in mountainous areas have carried out this task fruitfully. Now this activity must be widely expanded to produce large amounts of goods for bartering with the delta and for export, thereby changing the socioeconomic appearance of the mountainous rural areas.

To strongly develop productive capabilities, it is imperative to quickly work out appropriate policies to provide timely incentives for production and consumption and to ensure smooth circulation of goods, thereby bringing about practical benefits for the working people.

2. Rely on the biological characteristics and advantages of tropical forests, which have many species of fast-growing plants such as bamboo and rattan and fast-growing timber trees capable of providing raw materials after 4-10 years for the production of consumer goods and plywood for use as a substitute for timber in capital construction and in the making of consumer goods. On this basis, we will quickly increase the supply of materials used for the production of consumer goods and the amounts of forest products for export. To make this solution feasible we should promote the forest product processing industry, boldly improve the technique of wood processing along the line of producing fiberboard, plywood, and so forth by using tree tops and branches and discarded timber obtained from fast-growing trees and bamboos of various species. At the same time, we must change the designs of consumer goods and capital construction projects to suit the new kinds of materials.

If we actively plant fast-growing trees and actively carry out the forest product processing technical revolution along this new direction in production and consumption, in the years that lie ahead we will be able to increase the output of consumer goods made of discards and raw materials yielded by fast-growing trees that are easy to plant. And 5-10 years later, we will obtain as great results as we would expect from the cyclic exploitation in 25 years of the natural forests. If we follow the old methods, we will have to wait for 40-50 years for the forests of large timber trees to yield products.

If forestry is developed in this way, not only the mountainous districts but even the midland, delta, and coastal districts will be able to expand the processing of forest products by using locally available raw materials to meet the demands of consumers and to vigorously increase the output of export goods, thereby eliminating the costs of transportation of raw materials from distant forests.

A program aimed at producing during the 1990's an additional amount of products from discards of forest product exploitation and processing and from materials yielded by fast-growing trees with a value equivalent to that of 1.5 million cubic meters of logs felled from natural forests has been formulated; preparations for its implementation have been actively made, and the program has begun to be put into effect. If this program receives the support of the state and various sectors, especially if it is actively carried out, it will have considerably greater potentials.

To ensure that the two measures mentioned above will be vigorously and effectively carried out, we would like to suggest the following:

1. All localities and units work out plans to develop afforestation and expand the forest product processing along the line suggested above. This will enable the central echelon to sum up the capabilities and requirements to be met, then it will actively work out measures to implement these plans in a uniform manner.
2. The state should support various related sectors and the forestry sector in actively resolving the problem of producing sufficient tools and equipment necessary for the processing of forest products in accordance with the new guidelines. The chemical industry should join the forestry sector in developing the manufacturing of formalin from methanol and glue from locally available raw materials. In the immediate future we should step up export to obtain foreign exchange for the importation of chemicals as the forestry sector has done for a long time.
3. Wood is being used in a wasteful manner because the tradition and habit of using wood planks and timber of groups 1, 2, and 3 in sizes and amounts much larger than required is still prevalent. For this reason, we would like to suggest that various party committee echelons, sectors, and units actively cultivate the sense of economizing on wood and forest products. They should use the right kinds of wood for the right purposes in the right amount. They should correctly carry out the process of steeping and preserving wood because this measure will allow us to save 20-30 percent of wood and double or triple the period of serviceability. They should seriously practice the accounting of wooden materials and resolutely apply the policy of reward and penalty in the use of forest products.
4. We would like to suggest that the network of wood and forest product processing industries from the raw materials producing areas to the consuming areas be rearranged and reorganized into a rational and effective system according to the patterns of new products.

The resolution of the seventh plenum of the fifth party Central Committee and Resolution 68-CT issued by the Council of Ministers in 1984 have set forth the task of incorporating the management of the wood processing industry into the forestry sector so as to combine forest restoration and exploitation and the production of timber under contract in a single process of expanded forestry reproduction. This task is also aimed at overcoming the remaining shortcomings mentioned above so as to develop the wood processing industry along the line of effectively using forest resources and satisfying the ever increasing demands for furniture of the economy and the people.

For this reason, the serious implementation of Resolution 68-CT and the planning and rearranging the network of forest product processing establishments throughout the country, in each area, and in each province and district under the unified guidance and management of the forestry sector within the framework of a master plan of the state are standing out at present as urgent measures to shift the direction of processing industry in accordance with the guidelines and targets already stated above.

The demand for quickly increasing the production of necessary consumer goods for the people and forest products for export is legitimate and urgent. We think that measures needed to meet this demand are ready, pressing, and feasible. We believe that our targets will certainly be achieved if we receive wholehearted support, if we make great efforts, and if we carry out uniform programs of action in a planned manner.

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CSO: 4209/396



CHU THUY QUYNH, PARTY ORGANIZATION IDEOLOGICAL WORK BLOC DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 23 Dec 86 p 3

[Excerpts from speech by Chu Thuy Quynh, outstanding artist representing the Party Organization Ideological Work Bloc: "Pledging To Be Artists of All Nationalities Working in Accordance With the Party's Ideals"]

[Text] If the worker and farmer classes offer their physical strength and if intellectuals offer the gray matter they have, we artists offer our human soul and mind -- not only physical labor harmoniously combined with intellectual labor that every working person has to operate with -- including our feelings and thoughts, and express the changes of our soul by means of the acts of our body. While we are happy, we must express sadness; while suffering, encouragement; while tired, good health; and more obviously, while old, youth, and vice versa--today we act a younger sister, tomorrow a mother. What do people think about such easy changes?

In the past, according to feudal rules, being a songstress had been considered being a worthless person, and today perhaps this prejudice has not totally disappeared in our socialist system. But it is fortunate for our generation to have the CPV which correctly evaluates the role of writers, artists, composers, as well as performers, who are the soul engineers. The socialist state gives appropriate rewards and proud state titles to mobilize us.

We recognize the importance of the social position assigned to us by the party and people. The old society leaves behind many ill manners and bad habits. Everyday and every hour, as the Political Report points out, "the feudal, colonial, and bourgeois remnants, as well as the dark schemes of enemy forces, are threatening "to turn culture and arts into the means to spread pessimistic feelings and a decadent way of living." We strive to get rid of the old harmful remnants in our works and soul; we thank the party for having reminded us of a sense of vigilance and desire to cultivate ourselves, and we are grateful to the public and all our compatriots for having both motivated us and protected us against harmful influences, sometimes easy sometimes difficult to see, which hopefully try to make us neglect the noble role of the soul engineers. The socialist literature and arts must "favorably affect the people's thinking, psychology, and emotions, and raise the level of their socialist understanding and esthetic capacity, as the Political Report points out. Therefore, in order to fulfill the soul engineers' task toward the

people and to contribute to building the new man and new way of living and society, we soul engineers must first of all cultivate ourselves to become the new persons having a wholesome and progressive way of living. For normal people, any shallow emotional changes can easily lead to unbecoming words and action; for performing artists, who must train themselves everyday in the emotions of the characters that constantly change, outwardly and inwardly, we must be very vigilant in regard to shallow emotional changes. This is the only way for us to uphold the moral standing of socialist artists and to contribute to limiting and putting an end to a moral decline that was taking place in the last few years. We promise not only to utter fine words, to dance beautifully, and to play leading roles and reactionary characters with professional skills but also to have nothing in our daily life of which we may feel ashamed toward the people and the next generation. We strive to create artistic idols that will last for a long time on stage, on the silver screen, and on the airwaves, and at the same time to create new artistic models, both national and socialist, that deserve our great Uncle Ho's teachings.

The Political Report emphasizes "improving the policy on professional artistic workers, giving proper treatment to artistic labor, mobilizing creative skills, and encouraging talent." We are very self-assured and grateful. However, we think we should bring to the attention of the Congress a characteristic of the performing arts: In every other occupation, the more the years and months are accumulated, the more experience is acquired to raise professional capacity, but for us in particular, because life expectancy on stage is not long, the more the years and months pile up, the more our bodies feel worn-out, mostly in the case of some fields that require the use of physical strength. Therefore, although the policies and systems of the party and state show some concern, they must be more concerned about the peaks of professional life, the equipment and machinery necessary for creative artistic labor, and the conditions for performing so as to widely serve many of our people and combatants in an effective manner.

On our part, under the conditions of the wars of resistance in the past, we artists and actors had been going to all corners of the country to serve the people and combatants, even to those places where fighting was the fiercest and where the voices of singers drowned out the sounds of bombs. Quite a few artists had fallen; many others offered their youth, physical strength, and mental capacity to arts and have no longer appeared on stage--they have set brilliant examples for many generations of artists to follow. We think that today our northern border is still threatened by the enemy, the people of neighboring Laos and Cambodia still need to enjoy arts, and the reactionaries still carry on the multifaceted war of destruction, along with many psychological warfare maneuvers, right in our and our families' daily life. Consequently we believe that the socialist revolution in our country and in the world is moving forward at a fast pace and that we are still assigned the mission of contributing more of our energy and more effectively to the ideological and cultural revolutionary front.

The Political Report calls for "bringing the cultural and artistic values of our nation and the world to all basic units everywhere and to mountainous and

jungle areas and remote countryside." We believe that because arts are a common asset created by composers, performers, and audiences, the most necessary thing is that after a work has been created and is being performed, while not everybody can afford to buy a ticket to a performance to see it on stage, we are responsible for bringing the work to factories, state farms, trenches, hospitals, schools, nurseries, state forests, seagoing ships, and so on; in short, we artists have the duty to take turns going to any place where there are people serving the fatherland and society so as to serve the people who most deserve being served.

As a result, we profoundly need the national colors in arts. Although among us there are people who are specialized in ballet dancing, playing piano, acting as foreigners, and so on, in our awareness we need to fully understand the colors of 54 fraternal nationalities in Vietnam in order to apply and develop them in our artistic works. Moreover, although we are not specialized in any particular cultural locality and area of the country, we also believe that as Vietnamese artists a lack of understanding and affectionate feelings for a segment of the Vietnamese nation will be a great emptiness in our soul, for it will affect our enthusiastic response "whenever there is the task of satisfying the wholesome needs and wishes of all strata of society and age groups, in all sectors and localities," as the Political Report points out and helps to strengthen the efforts to exactly fulfill the needs of many groups of people. We propose to the Party Congress that the educational sector be assigned the task of providing the young generation with basic knowledges of such artistic activities as music, dance, painting, acting in movies and on stage, and so on, as well as with the national colors and characteristics of some artistic legacies in the world. We also propose that the Party Congress assign the educational, cultural, and information sectors the task of combining their efforts with those of artistic groups and mass organizations. Let us have synchronized plans aimed at raising the masses' esthetic capacity, for the purpose of guiding public opinion toward artistic works and exploiting their creativity. Only then can we build and stimulate the people's cultural and artistic mastery, just as Uncle Ho had taught us, namely, the people not only enjoy artistic works but also take part in creative activities.

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NGUYEN CO THACH, HA NAM NINH PROVINCE DELEGATION

BK071650 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 pp 4, 5

["Excerpts" from speech by Nguyen Co Thach, delegate of Ha Nam Ninh provincial party organization, Sixth CPV Congress — date not given]

[Text] One of the four overriding lessons of experience cited in the Political Report is that we must learn how to combine the strength of our nation with that of our times. This is a lesson drawn from 40 years of experience of successful struggle to achieve national liberation and reunification. This lesson embodies the law of mankind's evolution, namely the history of humanity evolves according to universal laws. These universal laws determine the trend of survival and development of each nation in the world.

Over the past 40 years, our people's struggle to achieve national independence and reunification and to build socialism has proceeded in the epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism on a worldwide scale.... This transition, which began with the Great Russian October Socialist Revolution, has set into motion a historical process aimed at abolishing step by step the system of exploitation of man by man, eliminating class oppression, doing away with oppression of nations, and building socialism step by step in the world. The essence of this transitional epoch determines the trend of survival and development of various nations. This is the law that governs the evolution of mankind's history. Our people's struggle in the past 40 years conformed to the trend of our times and the law of history. We have favorable conditions for combining the strength of our nation with that of our times, thereby multiplying our nation's strength manifold.

The imperialist forces of aggression, although as powerful as the U.S. imperialists, have become weak and have been defeated because they ran counter to the trend of the times and the law of history.

A nation may be small, but if it correctly follows the trend of the times and acts in conformity to the law of history, it can turn weakness into strength and can defeat an enemy many times bigger and stronger than itself.

To combine closely the strength of the nation with that of the times, we must have a principled stand and combine patriotism with proletarian internationalism. We have witnessed many struggles which, though conforming to the trend of the times, were unable to bring into play the strength of their nations with that of the times because they proceeded from selfish nationalism.



Over the past 10 years, by closely following the trend of our times, our people have actively fulfilled two strategic tasks while maintaining close unity with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples, the Soviet people, the peoples of other socialist countries, and the forces of independence, progress, and peace throughout the world in the common struggle for peace, national independence, and socialism in the world.

On the political and military fronts, together with the fraternal Lao and Cambodian peoples, we have frustrated step by step the imperialists' and reactionaries' scheme of opposing and sabotaging the revolutions of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia. The peoples of the three fraternal countries have won victories of historic significance, creating a new, unprecedented situation. Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia were completely liberated and are advancing together to socialism. Southeast Asia, once a colony of colonialism and imperialism, has now become a region comprising two groups of countries with different sociopolitical regimes. Southeast Asia, once a region suffering from the longest wars in the world during which an unprecedented amount of bombs and shells was expended, is now following the trend of peaceful coexistence among countries with different social systems. The peoples of Vietnam, Laos, and Cambodia have made great contributions to the world people's struggle for peace, national independence, and socialism. The policy of hegemony and confrontation pursued by the imperialists and reactionaries run counter to the trend of independence and peace in Southeast Asia. It is failing and will certainly meet with even worse failure.

The Political Report presented to this party congress affirms our party's correct foreign affairs line. Our party has persistently pursued this successful line in the interest of our people and of the world peoples who are struggling for peace, national independence, and socialism.

On the political and military fronts, our party's lines combine very harmoniously the strength of our nation with that of our time. This combination is a decisive factor in our victories of historic and epochal importance.

We have always been concerned with receiving aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and friends in the world. At the same time, we are also very concerned with accelerating exports.

In 1979, our enemy entertained the illusion of destroying Vietnam's economy within 3-5 years. However, far from experiencing an economic collapse, we overcame the most difficult years, maintained our existence, and achieved development. We have foiled the enemy's scheme in an important way. This is possible thanks to the extraordinary efforts undertaken by our people and at the same time, to the aid given by socialist countries and friends in the world, especially the extremely great and valuable aid from the great Soviet Union.

In recent years, we have attached great importance to exports. This congress considers the export program one of the three major programs of the next 5-year plan. The export program serves as a lever to stimulate the development of production.

It is very important to win aid from the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and from friends as well as to accelerate exports, but this not the entire question of combining the strength of the nation with that of our time.

At present, the world economy is entering a period of the most profound changes since the industrial revolution some 200 years ago.

The production forces in the world have developed to a very high level in both of the world's economic systems; and, at the same time, the process of internationalizing economic life has developed vigorously. The process of specialization, international division of labor, cooperation, and exchanges in the world has reached a very high level. International exchanges are gradually changing from the form of trade exchanges to production cooperation between enterprises, transcending national boundaries and stimulating the process of international economic integration. No country, no matter how big it is, can develop along the lines of self-supply and self-sufficiency. To achieve development all countries must find for themselves the optimal position in the international division of labor. This optimal position involves the need to have a number of good quality and low-priced products. Each country can bring its strong points into play. The economies of various countries are linked with one another into an integrated whole which is the world economy. All countries, both large and small, are at the same time independent from and dependent upon one another to different degrees.

The new stage of the scientific-technological revolution which has taken place since the mid-1970's is basically changing the world economy. This revolution is changing the relations between man and nature.

The scientific-technological revolution at present is creating for underdeveloped countries a new road to industrialization that requires less time, raw material, fuel, and capital than the traditional road to industrialization of the past 200 years. Nevertheless, there is also a new danger in that unless the scientific-technological revolution is used to accelerate the rate of development, the gap between the developed industrial countries and underdeveloped countries will widen further, and the exploitation of the underdeveloped countries by the developed capitalist countries will become even more serious.

The trend toward internationalizing the developed world economy and the scientific-technological revolution at present is forcing all countries to restructure their economy and change the management mechanism to suit the development of the production forces. Only by so doing can the economy of various countries take advantage of the profound changes in the world to develop at a fast rate and avoid the danger of sinking deeper into backwardness.

While the trend of internationalizing the economy is rising steadily, the two world economic systems are developing according to their respective laws; or to put it more correctly, the universal laws governing the development of man's society, when applied in different historical conditions of the capitalist and socialist systems, have brought about different results. Capitalism will continue to develop; but the more it develops, the more intense its fundamental intrinsic contradictions become. In particular, it will further broaden the gap between the developed capitalist countries and underdeveloped countries and intensify class and national exploitation. On the contrary, developed socialism will increasingly narrow down the gap between the socialist countries and gradually proceed toward a total elimination of all differences in the level of development. We must rely first of all and chiefly on relations with the socialist countries while expanding economic relations with all countries in the world.

Combining the strength of the nation with that of our time in building the economy will be reflected not only in foreign economic policy but also profoundly in our economic development lines, throughout the transitional period in our country in general as well as in the initial stage in particular.

Our country which is advancing from a backward economy directly to socialism, bypassing the stage of capitalist development, needs to combine more closely the strength of the nation with that of our time, especially with the strength of world socialism.

In order to combine the strength of the nation with that of our time we must have first of all the economic strength of our nation. By the same token, our economy must develop effectively so that we can satisfactorily make use of the great and valuable aid from the Soviet Union and participate in the international division of labor within CEMA.

The scientific-technological revolution at present is translating mankind's age-old dreams into reality. However, those who live off the homicidal industry are robbing these scientific-technological achievements and forcing mankind to live amidst the terror of a nuclear holocaust. The history of man's development has witnessed a struggle full of blood and tears. However, man's will for survival and development has eventually triumphed. Science and technology symbolize man's creativity for survival and the conquest of nature. It is man's earnest desire to create a happy life. Nuclear or space weapons cannot subdue that desire. The struggle between the forces of peace and the forces of war still remains hard and fierce, but peace will surely win. As a nation that has sacrificed its bones and blood for the sake of peace, independence, and socialism, we are firmly convinced that peace and socialism will certainly triumph.

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CSO: 4209/396

NGUYEN VAN TRAN, HAI HUNG PROVINCE DELEGATION

BK121030 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 23 Dec 86 p 3

["Excerpt" from speech by Nguyen Van Tran, delegate of Hai Hung Province, at 6th CPV Congress — date not given]

[Text] The two pressing and fundamental issues in the renovation of economic management are:

1. Correctly implement the principle of democratic centralism, construct a uniform mechanism for the decentralization of management between various administrative echelons — central, city ward, and village — and, at the same time, apply the system of autonomy in production and business of all enterprises and the system of collective mastery of the laboring masses at the grass-roots level.

2. Actively counter inflation, enforce policies on national finance, and work toward stabilizing prices and the buying power of money to create favorable conditions for the entire process of improving the socioeconomic situation.

1. Correctly implementing the principle of democratic centralism, uniformly decentralizing management, and ensuring the system of autonomy in production and business of all economic units.

In fact, two conflicting yet closely related causes of deficiency currently prevail in our management mechanism. On the one hand, it is still heavily affected by bureaucratic centralism while on the other, it is seriously plagued with unorganized and undisciplined phenomena, localism, and individualism. These two causes of deficiency prevail equally at the central and grass-roots levels. To overcome this situation, it is necessary to renovate economic management along the line of authorizing the higher echelons to deal with highly essential matters while vigorously assigning the remaining issues to lower echelons. This will simultaneously intensify the socialist legal system; enhance the sense of organization, discipline, and responsibility; expand the powers and responsibilities of various echelons; and ensure close coordination in order to achieve the common objective of the country.

At a time when the socialist state manages the economy and the production of goods under a socialist system, in concretizing the principle of democratic centralism, we must determine powers and responsibilities rationally within the administrative system from central to provincial, city, district, precinct, village, and city ward levels. At the same time, we must apply various economic policies and economic norms so that, through the combination of the interests of establishments and localities with those of



society represented by the central government, all sectors, echelons, and grass-roots units can act in accordance with the orientations and targets set forth by the central level for the sake of their own interest. This is a task we have performed poorly for a long time. In the days ahead, we must better combine various economic measures with administrative, educational, political, ideological, and mass motivation measures.

It is imperative to rapidly increase the efficiency of concentrated and unified management at the central, provincial, and district levels within the scope of its responsibility and put an end to all unorganized, disorderly, unrelated, and neutral phenomena. Concentrated and unified management at the central level must be placed on a truly democratic and truly scientific basis and must ensure a combination of responsibility with power. We must improve the quality of various decisions of the central level and ensure the scientific and practical basis of these decisions and the openness and democracy of information in the process of formulating plans. Meanwhile, when a decision is made, the organizations and individuals concerned must bear full responsibility for the tasks entrusted to them and must carry out these tasks in accordance with that decision. It is necessary to expand the periodic inspection of various party and people-elected organs over various decisions and the execution of decisions and enhance the sense of responsibility in each program and each specific job.

In parallel and in connection with this, we must revise, supplement, substantiate, and uniformly establish the task of dividing economic management and insert the task of district building and strengthening — a very important task — into the country's overall and unified system.

It is necessary to continue to implement — if experience is to be drawn to supplement and perfect — the Political Bureau's Resolution 306 (draft) on autonomy in production and business for economic units and on implementation of collective mastery among the laboring people.

What is essential in opposing bureaucratic centralism is to truly broaden the democratic rights of the laboring people. This must be done not only for the laboring people but also through the laboring people and with the widespread participation of the laboring people in the management activities of various government echelons. We must uphold the responsibility and effect of public opinion, trying to give public opinion an extensive democratic role and to make it a forum at which important matters concerning the welfare of laboring people are discussed, reflecting quickly, sensitively, and accurately the aspirations and feelings of the laboring people. We must struggle staunchly against negative phenomena and social vices.

II. At present, we are in a very grave state of inflation. This constitutes a great obstacle to the planning task and the implementation of plans, to the implementation of general auditing of the national economy, as well as to managing the circulation of commodities and the market. The impact of inflation and its devastating effect on the economy and social psychology are already visible. Fighting inflation is now the most pressing task. It requires the active participation of all production establishments, laboring people, and sectors and localities. The struggle against inflation should not be confined to the financial and banking sectors. Inflation is the combined result of many things originating from many causes, especially from the imbalance between supply and demand in terms of finance and commodities, the vicious circle of price increase, the overprinting of money, and ineffective activities of the entire national economy.

The basic concepts for resolving inflation are to bring production to vigorous play, and improve the effectiveness and increase the source of local and foreign capital investments in production. This means increasing the source of supply. At the same time, steps must be taken to reduce demand on a national scale, try to reduce those demands which are not truly pressing and essential, guarantee minimum requirements, guard against wasteful spending, strictly practice thrift in production and consumption, exercise price control, regulate income, improve banking operations, and increase the effectiveness of every dong invested.

In implementing various policies and measures on economic management, it is necessary to adopt specific and urgent measures aimed at further resolving the present abnormal state of affairs and then constantly controlling and maintaining at all costs the balance between supply and demand.

We must work out and enforce a consistent national financial policy aimed at achieving a balance for the budget, regarding the need to reduce budget deficits quickly and sharply as the most important requirement. We must fully exploit all sources of taxable income left out from industrial-trade tax collection as well from other kinds of levies. We must improve the system of tax collection from state enterprise in order to increase in a rational and fair manner the contribution of the state-run economic sector to the state budget. We must reconsider export-import taxation, a very important source of income for the national budget that is still not boldly exploited by us. We must regulate the income of the people of various strata, establish social justice, limit the use of luxury goods, and readjust those demands beyond the existing capabilities of the economy.

We must consider applying income tax if we are to promote fair contribution by the people to the state. We must apply among the people of various strata a health insurance system and institutionalize their contributions for medical care and education.

In order to practice thrift in expenditure, we must truly concentrate our capital investments in those projects which are most essential and must improve the effectiveness of capital investments and accelerate capital turnaround. We must streamline the managerial and administrative mechanisms and must shift (surplus personnel) to productive labor and support services. This is instrumental in reducing expenditure while perfecting and improving the efficiency of the state apparatus. Strictly guarding against waste, damage, and losses constitutes an important thrifty move which may help increase budgetary income from 10-20 percent.

We must supplement and revise the system of budgetary allocation and the enterprise-based financial system and must ensure rational norms for various systems and policies.

Apart from the state and the state-run economic sector which serve as the main forces, we must mobilize the entire people, various economic elements, and overseas Vietnamese nationals. We must come up with policies to promote capital investment and reduce the trend toward consumption, must direct the people's spending at making investments in production, and must reduce the strains created by the amount of idle money in the hands of the people. We must mobilize the capital of overseas Vietnamese nationals through various appropriate policies and must readjust the policy toward the foreign currency sent home by overseas Vietnamese and fix a rational exchange rate for them. This is to increase the sources of collection for the state budget.

As for pricing, we must establish a rational pricing system and must exercise state control over prices. We must ensure the stability of prices in the state-run sector as well as in the barter trade with peasants. We must apply uniformly various policies and measures aimed at limiting and regulating price differences. We must control at all costs all transactions concerning the import and export of as well as the buying and selling of gold and foreign currencies and must control the mechanism that fixes the prices for gold and foreign currencies and that is now operating out of state control.

Due to the complexity and the vast scope of various policies, systems, and works against inflation as already discussed above, I suggest that an integrated inflation control plan be jointly formulated by various sectors. This must be regarded as an important component of the state plan with the purpose of overcoming this scourge of inflation within a few years from now — an indispensable factor for stabilizing all aspects of the socioeconomic situation.

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CSO: 4209/396

**TRAN LUU VI, VINH PHU PROVINCE DELEGATION**

**Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 22 Dec 86 p 2**

[Excerpts from speech by Tran Luu Vi, a delegate of the Vinh Phu party organization: "Renovate Policies and Management Organization in Small Industry and Handicrafts To Serve Well Three Programs: Grain-Food Products, Consumer Goods, and Export Goods"]

[Text] At present the nation has more than 1.8 million small industry and handicrafts workers with 20,000 work machines and tens of thousands of specialized machines of all kinds. In 1985 the sector's production value amounted to 45 billion dong, which was 43 percent of our country's industrial output value. It represents a great existing capability but not much of its has been exploited. Only 30 to 40 percent of the production capacity has been mobilized.

Beginning now, even if we only resolve the basic problems--raw materials and policies--and even if we make no new investment, we could double output, which would both open up many new trades and restore and develop the traditional trades.

The direction of development of small industry and handicrafts must be oriented toward serving the key programs:

With regard to the grain-food products program, in addition to the requirements regarding energy, materials, equipment, etc., because large-scale industry serving agriculture still demands that small industry and handicrafts annually produce for agriculture more than 12 million ordinary tools, hundreds of thousands of improved tools and nonmechanized transportation facilities, hundreds of thousands of tons of lime to spread on fields, and hundreds of millions of bricks and tiles to serve the construction of material bases for agriculture and the rural areas.

As regards consumer goods and export goods, every year small industry and handicrafts produce nearly 54 percent of the volume of consumer goods and provide 20 percent of the nation's exports. It is necessary to exploit all production capabilities to contribute to carrying out those important programs. Furthermore, small industry and handicrafts must actively serve the service requirements of an industrial nature and the repair of household goods



and the other production tools. Along with the construction sector, the construction cooperatives are responsible for serving construction and repairing the houses and buildings of the people, the organs, the enterprises, etc.

In order to develop production in the right direction, it is necessary to reorganize production by economic-technical sectors with division of labor and cooperation among the state, collective, and family economy sectors to expand production without causing disorderly development and competition in production, as in the past.

Accelerating the rate of small industry and handicrafts production will not only create many products for society but will have the great significance of providing employment for workers. With the course that has just been set, we are capable during the current 5-year plan of bringing about 200,000 additional workers into small industry and handicrafts production and into services.

In exploiting the production capabilities and bringing additional workers into small industry and handicrafts, a decisive matter is creating sources of raw materials for production by means of the following measures:

It is necessary to have plans and policies, especially by means of prices, to encourage the creation of agricultural, forestry, and fishing raw materials areas in order to serve industrial, small industry, and handicrafts production. We must expand the system of direct contracts between the production installations, develop raw materials along with the small industry and handicrafts production installations and eliminate the intermediate levels and red tape, which are impeding production.

On the basis of promoting the exporting of small industry and handicrafts goods, we must set aside some of the foreign exchange of the central and local echelons to import the necessary raw materials for small industry and handicrafts.

In recent years, 65 percent of the professional small industry and handicrafts workers have joined low-level or high-level forms of collectivization. At present there are 5,641 cooperatives with more than 558,000 cooperative members, and 12,000 production cooperative teams with more than 223,000 members. In a number of places there have also been formed jointly operated enterprises and small industry-handicrafts cooperative enterprises. In addition, there are more than 580,000 individual workers, more than 10,000 workers in private installations, and hundreds of thousands small industry-handicrafts workers in the family economic sector.

After being reorganized, due to their dynamism and sense of responsibility, a considerable number of cooperatives have done a good job and overcome many difficulties to develop production, deliver products, and fulfill obligations to contribute to the state.

But recently some places have worked impetuously and have lacked key cadres. Collectivization is still in many ways formalistic.

The most important matter is to concentrate on consolidating and developing the socialist economic component, including the state and collective sectors. Especially, it is necessary to enable the state economy to truly play the leading role and guide the other economic components.

With regard to the small industry-handicrafts sector, first of all there must be a correct policy to develop capabilities, most directly the collective installations (especially the cooperatives), which have been reorganized, while also paying much attention to developing the family economy so that it is tied in with the socialist economic component.

With regard to the individual small industry and handicrafts sector, it is necessary to, on the basis of the requirements of production, persuade private producers to enter into collective livelihood, but it is necessary to observe the principles of voluntariness and mutual benefit. Furthermore, individual workers must be employed and they must be encouraged to develop production, especially the unique, traditional trades, with guidance so they can work in accordance with policies and develop in the right direction, and in order to create an alliance between them and the state and collective economic components.

With regard to the private economic component, policies must be selected and clearly promulgated so that they can with confidence organize production, in order to exploit all capabilities with regard to their capital and technical and management knowledge in order to develop production in a number of sectors and trades where it is necessary to create jobs for workers and produce products for society, and guide them into the socialist orbit, in alliance with the state and collective economies and under the close supervision and control of the state.

The introduction of scientific-technical advances into small industry-handicrafts production is an urgent demand.

Both in the long range and in the short range specific steps must be taken to introduce scientific-technical advances into production and renovate equipment, technology, and industrial processes, in order to increase labor productivity, improve product quality, lower production costs, and gradually achieve the slogan, "small industry and must be modern and handicrafts must be highly skilled."

To transform the resolution into reality, we must change our policies and organization of production. On the basis of unanimity with regard to viewpoints we must unify our actual activities.

a. In recent years the party and state have adjusted and supplemented many policies to stimulate production. But essentially there has as yet been no notable transformation and there are many policies which must be changed in order to exploit all production capabilities, such as the policy of supplying raw materials and energy for small industry and handicrafts, the policy of providing grain for workers, and the contracting out, price, tax, credit, and other policies.

The basic contents of the coming renovation of policies will be to fully understand the viewpoint of achieving equality in production labor, eliminating biased prejudice in evaluations and toward workers in the different economic components, above all the lack of equality even within the socialist economic component and between the state and collective sectors. An important matter is that it is necessary to consider economic effectiveness. Those who produce wealth and perform useful tasks for society, and who fulfill their obligations and strictly observe the laws and policies, have the right to compensation corresponding to the results of their labor. Those who violate economic contracts will be punished and will have to make restitution. On the basis of unanimity on those viewpoints, we must draft and change policies so that they can be appropriate, while also renovating the propaganda, education, and cultural tasks in order to ensure correct understanding and create a favorable social psychology environment for developing production.

b. Small industry and handicrafts production in our country is very varied. Although the levels of development differ it exists in nearly all of the economic-technical sectors and in nearly all areas and economic spheres.

The relationships between management according to sector, management according to locality and territorial area, between state administrative-economic management and production-commercial management, and between the managing ministries and services and the cooperative federation organs at all echelons, etc., must be clearly defined. There must be a specialized organization to assume responsibility for that production sector.

During the coming period the central echelon must specifically and definitively define the responsibilities of each sector and echelon, and designate the cooperative federation organization as being responsible for managing the small industry-handicrafts production sector, on the basis of which to rectify the organization and deployment of cadres and guide the victorious attainment of the goals that are set.

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CSO: 4209/272

TRAN ANH VINH, BAC THAI PROVINCE DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 22 Dec 86 p 2

[Excerpts from speech by Tran Anh Vinh, delegate of the Bac Thai party organization: "Stabilize, and Develop Gradually and Solidly, the Coal Sector"]

[Text] The coal sector began the implementation of the fourth 5-year plan (1986-1990) after a long period of unstable and uncertain development. The goals set by the Fifth Party Congress for the coal sector were not attained. The norms regarding productivity, quality, and effectiveness were underfulfilled and in some cases were lower than during the previous period. In management there have been revealed many weaknesses and deficiencies, especially in economic management and technical management. The social problems in the sector were not promptly and fully resolved, which greatly affected the labor enthusiasm and productivity of the mine workers.

The coal sector's characteristics differ greatly from those of many economic sectors: it is a mining sector that has developed under the conditions of our country's economy not being developed and its industrialization level being low; 90 percent of the materials and equipment used in the coal sector must be imported from abroad, so the coal sector cannot take the initiative in providing them for itself; it is a sector which requires large and continuous investment and its construction sector is long but capital is invested only on an annual basis, there are no long-range plans, the geological conditions of coal are very complicated but they have not been researched in detail, and we have not found an appropriate direction of development.

With such characteristics, the coal sector must receive attention, from investment in construction and providing production conditions to the living conditions of the mine workers. There must be coordination with and assistance by many economic sectors and localities, so that the coal sector can fulfill its missions of exploiting natural resources in order to supply basic energy for the domestic economic sectors and to serve exports.

In view of the small amount of investment capital, the selection of projects in which to invest has a decisive significance with regard to the sector's development. During the past 30 years the coal sector has developed thanks to the correct policies of our party and government. However, the selection of the objects of investment has not been entirely rational.



In addition to some irrational investment policies, the lack a central focus in the distribution of investment capital has prolonged the construction times of the projects, so they have not been brought into play in a timely manner.

At present, the coal sector has much equipment and machinery. If there are good people and good organization of production, equipment productivity and labor productivity will increase. We believe that in the past the weakest aspect was that we did not pay adequate attention to the coal miners. The leadership echelons in the coal sector bore primary responsibility for that matter. At the same time, the party and state are also responsible for the miners, as manifested in ensuring that they have at least a minimal standard of living, such as food, clothing, incomes, housing, and work facilities, rationalizing the families, providing vocational training, organizing their cultural lives, etc.

In order to gradually overcome the situation of weakness, deficiency, and decline in the past, and to stabilize the situation and gradually achieve solid development and fulfill the economy's increasing need for coal, the responsibility of the coal sector in the 1986-1990 5-year plan is very heavy. First of all, the coal sector must concentrate on restoring and consolidating order in production and construction, improve economic management and technical management, consolidate organization, etc., while also endeavoring to attain the goal of producing 7.5 to 8 million tons of washed coal by 1990.

Although the attainment of that goal would not satisfy all of the economy's coal requirements, the coal sector must make very great efforts. At the same time, there must be unified guidance in accordance with the state plan and support for the coal sector by the other sectors and the localities.

The principal directions and measures for developing the coal sector in the 1986-1990 plan period are:

1. Completing the production line in order to increase the output of the existing mines so that they can attain their designed capacities and attain the goal that has been set. The principal direction of development during the plan period will be to concentrate on the open-pit mines and the full exploitation of the seams and the small mines in Quang Ninh, Bac Thai, Lang Son, Quang Nam-Da Nang, Nghe Tinh, Ha Nam Ninh, etc., and peat mines all over the country, especially in such southern provinces as Long An, Kien Giang, Minh Hai, Hau Giang, Tay Ninh, Song Be, An Giang, etc., in order to produce 500,000 additional tons of coal a year.

In underground mining, we must develop the existing mines, with priority to exploiting the drift mines and investing in constructing mines with capacities of under 300,000 to 400,000 tons a year to shorten the construction period and produce coal within 4 or 5 years.

During the 1986-1990 plan period the capital construction capital will be concentrated above all in the projects intended to complete the construction line, in order to develop to the maximum the existing capabilities. Priority

in new construction will be given to constructing the Quan Trieu-Nui Hong railroad, the Nui Hong, Khanh Hoa, and Lang Cam mines, and the mines capable of quickly being brought into production, so that after 1990 we can have additional output to make up for the decline in mining output and the exhaustion of reserves during the 1986-1990 period. The rest will be invested in the follow-on projects and new projects, in order to increase output during the next 5-year plan.

We must resolutely attain the productivity, quality, and effectiveness goals in production and commerce. By 1990 we must increase the productivity of the principal industrial equipment by 150 percent in comparison to the 1985 level. Labor productivity must be at least 70 to 80 percent of the highest level between.

We must widely implement the mechanism of assigning contracted-out norms (with regard to both coal and the excavation of earth and rock), product delivery norms, and the balancing norms regarding materials, equipment, salaries, the use of foreign exchange, etc., to the basic units during the 5-year period and for 1990. There must be implemented a policy to encourage the fulfilling and surpassing of the plan norms prior to the 5-year plan, as regards all production and construction units in the sector.

2. The sector must fulfill well its function of supplying and managing the use of coal, with concentration on the specialized Coal Supply General Corporation, which has been assigned that responsibility by the state.

The coal sector will study the promulgation of the standard types of coal, so that they can be in accordance with the requirements of customers, while also mobilizing the various sources of low-calorie coal and processing it to meet the requirements of construction materials production and cooking fuel in order to supply additional coal to the localities and sectors.

3. Gradually resolve the social problems in the sector. Ensure the real wages of the mine workers, especially with regard to foodstuffs, vocational training, taking families of workers to visit them at the mines, and other welfare projects, to ensure their material and morale lives in order to attain higher labor productivity.

4. Resolutely reorganize the production and construction units in the sector so that they can be rational, on the basis of streamlining, and truly bringing into play the autonomy of, the production and commercial units.

5. Implement state management in coal mining and technical mining inspections.

In order to create conditions for the coal sector to fulfill its missions and meet the goals set by the Party Congress, in the process of drafting the 1986-1990 5-year plan the coal sector recommends the following:

1. The goals and missions of the coal sector during the 1986-1990 period, taking into consideration development during the 1991-1995 period, must be manifested in the form of official legal plans, accompanied by the balancing

conditions. At the same time, the state must provide guidance to ensure the supplying of materials and equipment for production and food for the workers.

2. The state must implement a contracting out system with regard to the coal sector, including norms regarding coal output and the supplying of coal to the domestic economic sectors, a norm regarding the repayment of coal debts to the socialist countries, and the contracting out of foreign exchange norms so that the coal sector can provide for itself. The coal sector must be given complete authority to use foreign exchange to import materials, equipment, and goods needed for production and the lives of the mine workers, in accordance with current state regulations.

3. Drafting a complete program, with objectives, to serve as a basis on which to satisfactorily distribute investment.

The state must study management according to territorial units and have a suitable policy so that the local budgets can increase or decrease depending on the degree of plan fulfillment by the coal sector, in order to increase the responsibility of the localities and tie their interests to coal production.

The sectors and localities must be extremely economical in using coal. There must be research to improve and replace outmoded coal-using equipment in order to improve the effectiveness of coal use while contributing to increasing the social effectiveness of coal production.

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CSO: 4209/272

DANG HOI XUAN, HA TUYEN PROVINCE DELEGATION

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 22 Dec 86 p 2

["Excerpts" from speech by Dang Hoi Xuan, Delegate from Ha Tuyen Province, to the Sixth National Party Congress in Hanoi: "Caring for, Protecting and Improving the Health of the People"; date not given]

[Text] During the past 5 years, in an extremely difficult and complex social and economic situation, much effort have been made in public health work to maintain operations, to prevent and resist disease, to reduce the percentage of social diseases, to support combat, to overcome the consequences of several storms and floods, and to contribute toward the task of building and protecting the socialist fatherland.

However, the health situation of our people is presently declining in a concerning manner. The average weight of newborn infants as well as the weight, height and physique of students and youths have all declined. The percentage of cadres and workers stopping work is higher and the occupational age of workers is steadily becoming lower. Many mothers lack sufficient milk to nurse their children.

During the past few years, although the public health sector has made many efforts, there have still been many weaknesses and shortcomings, and a lack of depth, quality and effectiveness in the various aspects of preventing and resisting disease, examining and treating illnesses, and providing medicine, supplementary cadre, scientific and technical training, ideological education and management organization. At the same time, its staff role in all echelons and sectors has not been properly accomplished. The difficult economic situation has also adversely affected the health of the people and the quality of public health work. On the other hand, echelons, sectors, mass organizations and the people are still not fully aware of the position of health care and improvement and have not given the proper level of concern to investing in and truly participating in maintaining and strengthening the health of everyone and themselves in close connection with the interests of the socio-economic development task.

To achieve the mission presented in the Political Report, we must unanimously and properly achieve the following specific and urgent tasks:

1. Institute active methods and appropriate policies to swiftly strengthen the district, ward and basic level public health network. Within the public health



organization system of our country, this public health network, especially that at the basic level, has a strategic position because this network must be consolidated and strengthened before it can achieve its missions of providing initial health care for the people and regularly applying technical methods to health care and training, actively preventing and controlling disease, and promptly discovering and treating illness right in the places where the people live and work.

Therefore, to provide good health care to the people and effectively support production and life, the public health sector must institute active methods to train and supplement cadres for sufficient physicians and midwives in village public health stations, and sufficient part-time nurses in hamlets and production teams; and the state as well as administrations at all levels must have methods of caring for the village public health cadre ranks, ensuring that they have sufficient pay, allowances, grain and necessities like cadres within the staff organization.

2. Care for the health of mothers and children in close coordination with efforts to resolutely reduce the population growth rate to 1.7 percent by 1990.

Reduction of the population growth rate is both a major issue in caring for the health of mothers and children, and an important condition for increasing per capita income in the years to come.

Reduction of the population growth rate has become a national policy but if there are not strong incentive policies dealing with profound propaganda and education to change the concept and psychology of family happiness, especially among the cadres, party members and youths, the objective we have set forth cannot be achieved. This is the responsibility of all echelons, sections, sectors and mass organizations.

3. Launch a broad mass movement and motivate sectors to participate in caring for, protecting and improving the health of the people.

The role of the masses in health care has been proven in the actual practice of our country for many years. With our experience and that from many other countries, in the present situation of a declining public health and sanitation movement in many local areas, we must emphasize and properly achieve health education for the recipients of initially required health care programs, causing everyone to understand that health cannot be bought in a pharmacy but must be the result of efforts with a scientific basis and the conscientiousness of each individual, family and collective in order to achieve an unceasingly improving and wholesome environment, conditions and way of life for the benefit of today's generation as well those to follow. Each village, subward, work site, state farm, state forest, enterprise, agency and school must conduct good education, properly organize mass movements, implement specific programs and struggle objectives, and periodically inspect and evaluate effectiveness in order to maintain and stimulate a steadily developing movement, to provide good health care for each recipient, and to effectively prevent and control disease in each region.

Sectors and mass organizations must be motivated to participate in protecting and cleaning up the environment, creating a source of clean water and sterilizing tap water in the cities, and ensuring sanitation standards in construction, industrial and agricultural production, grain and food processing, and in the prevention and control of epidemics, social diseases, occupational diseases, and nutritional deficiencies. Disease diagnosis and treatment is encountering many difficulties in funds, facilities, equipment and the daily necessities of grain, food, electricity and water, and many economic, finance, labor and planning sectors can assist in resolving these difficulties. Educational, cultural and communications sectors, mass organizations, especially the Red Cross Association, trade union organizations, the Vietnam Women's Union, Ho Chi Minh Communist Youth Union, and Central Committee for Teenagers and Children all have great capabilities in the tasks of mass propaganda and education and in participating in activities to care for the health of the people.

4. The medicine problem must be better resolved by many effective methods.

Domestic pharmaceuticals provide only about 30 percent of the common drugs. Due to unreasonable pharmaceutical prices, cultivation of medicinal plants is increasingly restricted, not to mention that a lack of concentration on the unified procurement of pharmaceuticals has caused many difficulties for exports in order to import medicine. Foreign exchange for importing medicines and the raw materials for making medicines and chemicals to combat disease are annually only equal to one-fourth of the level 10 years ago, while the population of the country has increased by an additional 10 million people and the price of medicines on the import-export market has doubled. Construction of a 5-ton antibiotic plant has long been targetted but has only recently begun because the review has been too slow and chemical enterprises have not yet been expanded. The shortage of drugs and chemicals has thus become severe, and the irrational use of drugs in many public health facilities and preferential use of unorthodox drugs among the masses has caused the medicine problem to become steadily more tense.

To overcome the immediate difficulties, we suggest a number of urgent methods:

--On the village line, it is primarily necessary to develop native Vietnamese medicine, acupuncture and methods without the use of drugs. Provinces and cities with a developed machine industry must self-produce common public health instruments to supply the villages.

--Provinces and districts must strive to self-acquire a large portion of their medicines by the use of local raw materials and by exports in order to import. With an extremely small amount of foreign exchange, the Ministry of Public health can only provide additional medicines, equipment and supplies when epidemics, natural disasters and wars occur, and a number of specific drugs to support cadres. Local areas with export-import capabilities must concentrate on importing antibiotics, specialized drugs and medicines, experimental chemicals, x-ray film and surgical thread. Full use must be made of the medicines sent home by Vietnamese living and working in foreign countries with efforts made to procure a large portion of these medicines. Counters must be established in the hospitals to sell essential medicines to the people.

5. That increased investment in public health work has become a general requirement of society was acknowledged by the congresses of many provinces and emphasized by the Political Report.

Because we still have many difficulties, investment in public health work is too low, amounting to less than 4 percent, and we therefore have still been unable to answer the health care requirements. The serious shortage of drugs noted above, hospital funds sufficient for only 40 percent of essential expenditures, and the deteriorating condition of hospitals, disease and malaria prevention and sanitation stations and units, training schools, and pharmaceutical enterprises have directly and adversely affected the quality of public health service.

This situation demands many sources (the central budget, local budgets, mass participation, foreign sources of income, international aid, etc.) to increase the public health budget. Concerning this issue, we suggest prompt deliberation and specific decisions from the National Assembly, Council of State and Council of Ministers. It cannot be permitted to drag on as at the present time.

7300

CSO: 4209/273

AFGHANISTAN: PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY, HAIDER MASUT

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 pp 6, 7

[Speech by Haider Masut, head of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan delegation to the Sixth Congress of the VCP]

[Text] First of all, on behalf of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan I would like to convey to the delegates to the Congress, and through you to all Vietnam Communist Party members and the militant people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, our warmest greetings and best wishes.

We were very much concerned with and attentively listened to the Political Report of the Central Committee of the Vietnam Communist Party presented by General Secretary Truong Chinh.

The realistic and critical evaluation of the missions that have been fulfilled and delineated in a detailed and explicit manner the course for the immediate future, which is an illustration of the strength, stability, and great political maturity of the party founded by the great Ho Chi Minh. It is a party that was forged in the fire of fierce, prolonged struggle against the French colonialists and U.S. imperialists, and which today is advancing solidly and full of confidence in consolidating the construction of socialism in Vietnam.

Your Sixth Party Congress is being carried out at a time when the international situation is becoming more tense and the existence of mankind is becoming a serious problem.

On the basis of a new globalism, the Reagan administration is carrying out a policy of state terrorism and is openly intervening in the internal affairs of free nations, especially nations which have selected the path of independent development. The U.S. imperialists, with the complicity of their regional lackeys, are expanding the scale of the undeclared wars against the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, the People's Republic of Cambodia, Nicaragua, and Angola.

The supplying of extremely great quantities of sophisticated U.S. weapons, including long-range reconnaissance aircraft, to the militarist regime in



Pakistan, and assistance provide that regime in producing nuclear bombs, are clear manifestations of the belligerent intentions of the Reagan administration to transform Pakistan into a "front-line" country and a staging area for aggression and provocation against the People's Republic of Afghanistan and India. The sordid affairs that has been disclosed about the secret supplying of U.S. weapons to the regime in Iran--part of which were sent to the counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan, has caused the international situation, especially in our region, to become increasingly tense. But with the victory of the national-democratic April Revolution the people of Afghanistan entered upon the path of profound political, social, and economic change for the benefit of workers, will further mobilize the social organizations, especially the National Patriotic Front, to unite around the People's Party of Afghanistan, will reduce the effectiveness of the enemy's efforts, and will continue to advance. Despite the war, we have achieved important accomplishments in many spheres.

In the activities of our party, which organized and led the April Revolution, the 18th Plenum of the Central Committee, which met in May of this year, was of special importance. The party members' support for the Plenum's resolutions vis-a-vis reforming the work in all spheres of political and social life, improving the ability of cadres, and increasing effectiveness, manifested solidarity and unanimity and the political maturation of all party members. The plenum focused on specific revolutionary acts intended to eliminate the gap between words and deeds and become increasingly close to millions of the masses in the country.

Today, the most serious mission that has been posed for our party and revolutionary administration is to end the bloodshed and bring peace and security to the entire nation. In order to expand the social bases of the revolution and enable all patriotic and nationalist forces to participate in economic-social reform in a progressive direction, the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan has proposed national conciliation and has taken specific steps in that direction. The important steps being taken by the party to expand the social bases of the revolution are being undertaken in a unified manner and have been successful.

Loyal to its peaceful foreign policy, the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan approves a peaceful solution to the situation regarding Afghanistan.

If the other side demonstrates a realistic political attitude and good will, the problems regarding Afghanistan can be resolved in a peaceful manner, by means of political talks.

The withdrawal of six regiments from the limited force of the Soviet Union in October of this year was a major step to demonstrate good will toward normalizing the situation.

As you all know, our country has long received unselfish assistance from our old and tested friend, the great Soviet Union. The same is true today. The Soviet Union is helping us in the economic, cultural, and military spheres. Our country's people are grateful for and highly treasure that assistance.

Furthermore, we also realize that we must rely more on ourselves to defend our fatherland, and that is our direction of struggle.

We support the peace policy of the Soviet Union, which is intended to eliminate tensions and strengthen peace and detente. The constructive peace proposals fo the Soviet Union with regard to gradually eliminating all nuclear weapons by the year 2000, and the recent initiative of the Soviet Union to strengthen peace and security in Asia, wich was put forth by comrade M.X. Gorbachev at Vladivostok and opend up a new horizon and real prospects for peace in that region. The people of Afghanistan are confident that the implementation of the historic declaration in New Delhi by comrade M. I. Gorbachev and Premier Rajiv Gandhi on the principles of a world without nuclear weapons and violence will open the way to total disarmament and international detente.

Once again, the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan declares its resolute support for the peace proposals and initiatives of the Indochinese countries--the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the People's Republic of Cambodia, and the People's Democratic Republic of Laos--to restore peace and security in the strategic Southeast Asian region. The implementation of those proposals is certain to contribute greatly to reducing tension and creating an atmosphere of cooperation and good neighborliness.

On this occasion, once again I would like to convey to you the revolutionary greetings of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, and wish you many new victories in the great and noble enterprise of building a socialsit society in the glorious country of Vietnam and the strengthening of peace in Asia and the world.

5616

CSO: 4209/263

**AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS: UTMO SIDAKELE SIDECISI**

**Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Dec 86 pp 3, 4**

[Speech by Utmô Sidakela Sidecsi, the African National Congress chief delegate to the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] On behalf of the people of South Africa who are engaged in battle, on behalf of the African National Congress (ANC) and its liberation army, the spearhead of the people, and on behalf of our leadership committee and the hundreds of fighters who are in Fascist prisons, we have the honor to convey fraternal revolutionary greetings from our people to the Sixth CPV Congress and to the party of the legendary Ho Chi Minh.

The resolute battles and victories of the Vietnamese people under the leadership of the CPV on the political, foreign affairs, and military fronts against powerful colonial giants such as the French and American imperialists have won for your great people a unique historical position in the world. Your struggle was a heroic resistance against the yoke of foreign domination. This heroic resistance against the cruel tyranny of imperialist domination has had a powerful effect on our people in their fierce struggle against apartheid. We know that victory is inevitable. Today, the possibility of winning victory is becoming more and more real even though this will require further sacrifices.

Because of the existence and all-round support of world socialism and because of the victory of the Soviet people and Red Army, which was formed during the great civil war, a new force, a unified and independent Vietnam came into being and is now making progress on the path of socialist transformation. Because of the heroic victories scored by the people of Vietnam under the leadership of the CPV during the decades of fierce struggle against the fetters of colonialism and during the years of rebuilding the country, we are sure that you will be successful in the challenging years of socialist transformation.

The strength and bravery of the Vietnamese people derive in large part from the perfect unity and all-round support of the socialist countries and from international solidarity, which are the things that the ANC hopes for and needs for the revolution taking place in both South Africa and southern Africa.

Unity of action among all the anti-imperialist forces of the world has never been as necessary and vital to southern Africa as it is today. This is because

during the past 5 years, the history of southern Africa has been marked by mass killing. The underlings of Pretoria, who spread death and destruction, regularly cross into Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Lesotho, Swaziland, Botswana, Zambia, and even remote Seychelles with blood-lust in their hearts and war weapons in their hands.

The people of South Africa say that there has been enough terrorism. The long nightmare of colonialist oppression, apartheid, and fascist terrorism must be ended. The ANC has told the people that we must move forward and seize the national administration. That is, we must transform South Africa into a unified democratic regime without apartheid. We are on the path to victory.

Based on what Chairman Oliver Tambo has said, we know that it will not be easy to win victory. The apartheid regime continues to use huge military forces and material resources to wage a desperate and costly resistance. We also know that the Botha regime continues to enjoy the support of powerful international allies, including the United States, England, West Germany, and France. All of these countries regard this regime as an ally. They consider our liberation movement as an enemy.

However, more than ever, we are confident that victory is within our grasp. The objective and subjective factors both in and outside our country are ripe, and they have produced an irreversible change favorable to the victory of the democratic forces in our country.

As we talk here today, thousands of our compatriots, including blacks, the Indian progenitor, and whites, are resolved not to bear the yoke of apartheid. They are prepared to sacrifice themselves in the struggle for a national democracy.

With confidence as strong as a shield and knife and the vanguard forces of the South African revolution, the ANC has called on our oppressed masses to disrupt the apartheid system, make it impossible for them to manage the country, and seize control of the country, beginning with the establishment of the initial systems of people's administration throughout the country. In order to weaken the economic support of the apartheid system, the ANC has called on the international community to implement measures to penalize this system while we step up the armed struggle.

There has been an enthusiastic response in all spheres to the appeal of the people's vanguard unit. We are steadily advancing to victory.

As we have said, we know that we face the darkest moments before the dawn of final victory. For this reason, the perfect unity of the international progressive forces, particularly the socialist countries, which have supported us, is an essential weapon in our struggle just as it was during the difficult years of the Vietnamese revolution. If this prerequisite is fulfilled, we feel sure that sooner or later, we will achieve total victory.

11943  
CSO: 4209/267



**ALBANIA: ALBANIAN LABOR PARTY: XHEMAL DYMYLJA, ALBANIAN PARTY OF LABOR**

**Hanoi VNA in English 1501 GMT 16 Dec 86**

**[Speech by Xhemal Dymylja, member of the Central Committee of the Albanian Party of Labor, first secretary of the party committee of Elbasan Province]**

**[Excerpt] "Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam and by their wonderful struggle against foreign aggressors and their henchmen, the freedom-loving and valiant Vietnamese people have won the most valuable victory in their history — liberating and reunifying their country.**

**"This just struggle has won the hearts and minds of the freedom-loving nations and all the progressive and revolutionary forces all over the world. This struggle will forever retain its great value, showing to other nations that a nation, however small, can never be subdued provided it has the determination to struggle to the end and surmount all sacrifices.**

**"In their self-sacrificing struggle and labour, our people have always enjoyed the solidarity of the fraternal Vietnamese people which has bound us in a firm friendship. We hope that this friendship, which took its origin in the struggle and in the endeavours made by our two peoples for liberty and socialism, will develop constantly."**

**/6091**

**CSO: 4209/396**

ANGOLA: PAULO DE CASTRO, ANGOLA LABOR PARTY

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Dec 86 p 3

[Speech by Angola Labor Party Chief Delegate Paulo De Castro at the Sixth National Party Congress; "Greetings From the Angola MPLA-Labor Party Delegation"; date not given]

[Text] First of all, allow me, on behalf of the Party Central Committee, Comrade Jose Eduardo dos Santos, the Party Chairman, and all the members of the MPLA-Labor Party, to deliver to the Vietnam Communist Party and the fraternal people of heroic Vietnam our warmest greetings on the occasion of the Sixth National Party Congress, an important event of your party.

Our delegation has given wholehearted attention to the Political Report presented by Comrade Truong Chinh. We think this political report is a document of historic importance because of its bold analysis and criticism. At the same time, complying with the laws of historic and social development and creatively applying Marxist-Leninist theory to the separate and distinct conditions of its own country, the political report sets forth the most consistent methods for building a prosperous socialist society in the fatherland of Ho Chi Minh.

Despite many deficiencies and difficulties, the Vietnamese people have made many achievements in the fields of political, economic and cultural life. These achievements are the result of a process of unselfish labor by the Vietnamese laboring masses under the leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party.

Your Sixth Party Congress is being held during a period in which the world situation is complex because, regardless of the collective efforts of progressive forces to resolve area disagreements by a peaceful and political route, and to clear the international situation, the imperialists continue plans to rule the world.

The MPLA-Labor Party resolutely condemns the terrorist actions of imperialism and is confident that not one imperialist plot can block the unshakable progress of history. The MPLA-Labor Party wishes to congratulate the efforts of the Vietnam Communist Party to change Southeast Asia into an area of harmony, cooperation and enduring peace.

On this occasion, we joyfully welcome the active and constructive suggestions of the Soviet Union to restrict conventional and nuclear weapons, achieve total and partial disarmament, and make outer space the common property of mankind.

If developed and achieved, these suggestions will make a significant contribution toward strengthening mutual understanding, advancing to the establishment of an international security system, and liberating mankind from the dangers of nuclear genocide and the wars and clashes that for thousands of years have sown infinite sorrow for mankind.

The Soviet Union has suggested that an Asian Security and Cooperation Conference be held. This suggestion is an initiative of great historic stature because we believe it will decisively assist in clearing the situation in Asia.

There are presently extremely bad manifestations in southern Africa of the new global policy of the United States. There, the situation has and is dangerously worsening in the face of the bellicose policy of the South African racist regime, a regime considered by the United States to be its historic ally in the area.

We believe that only by abolishing the dreadful apartheid system and restoring independence to Namibia on the basis of Resolution 345/78 of the United Nations Security Council can conditions be created for forming an atmosphere of peace, cooperation and stability in southern Africa. For that very reason, at this podium, we reaffirm the indestructible support of the MPLA-Labor Party and people of Angola for the people of South Africa and Namibia under the leadership of their legal vanguard units, the African National Congress (ANC) and the South-west African People's Organization (SWAPO), in the struggle to establish an equitable and democratic society for self-determination and national independence.

Disregarding the futile schemes of imperialism against the People's Republic of Angola and thanks to the comprehensive assistance of Cuba, the Soviet Union and other nations in the socialist community, revolutionary progress as well as the creation of a premise for the construction of socialism in the fatherland of Augustino Neto continues to move strongly forward.

Finally, I wish on this occasion to reaffirm our strong and everlasting support for the people of Asia, Latin America and Africa who are struggling for freedom, independence and establishment of a peaceful, equitable and happy society.

We are confident that the Sixth Party Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party will mark a new step in the historic struggle of your country.

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CSO: 4209/266

BULGARIA: GRISHA FILIPOV, BULGARIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi VNA in English 1501 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Speech by Grisha Filipov, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the BCP [Bulgarian Communist Party] Central Committee]

[Excerpt] "Under the leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, a party tempered and forged through harsh struggles, the Vietnamese people are now firmly advancing to socialism. As your brothers, we all greatly rejoice at the great achievements you have obtained. We are confident that your 6th party congress will help generate a new strength to take Socialist Vietnam continually onward. This is exactly what Comrade Ho Chi Minh wrote in his testament, i.e., After the victory, you will rebuild your country ten times more beautiful. We are certain that you will succeed in materialising his wish. That is because Socialist Vietnam now is in reliable hands, and also because, as a Vietnamese poet put it five centuries ago, 'the country may experience its ups and downs, but never will it lack talents'.

"The People's Republic of Bulgaria values highly and supports the principled and constructive foreign policy of Vietnam aimed at consolidating world peace and security. It supports Vietnam's persistent struggle and contributions to strengthening the position of socialism and marking Southeast Asia a region of good neighbourliness and cooperation".

"We are of the firm belief that the acts of imperialism and reaction to cause complexities to the situation in Indochina and weaken the achievements of socialism in Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea will soon meet with complete failure".

/6091

CSO: 4209/396



CAMBODIA: HENG SAMRIN, PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY OF KAMPUCHEA

Greetings Message

BK160729 Phnom Penh SPK in English 0556 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK December 15 — Heng Samrin, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee, has sent fraternal greetings to the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The message reads:

"Under the clear-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the heroic Vietnamese people went through difficulties and obtained great victories over French colonialism and U.S. imperialism, thus building their country into an independent, free and socialist state. These great victories have shown that when the world revolutionary forces march forward, a nation, though small in area and population but uniting millions as one with strong determination and the correct leadership of a Marxist-Leninist party, upholding [word indistinct] and socialism, and enjoying support and assistance from revolutionary and progressive forces over the world can defeat an imperialist power even strong as the U.S.

"The Vietnamese people and their spirit of industriousness and creative labour and enhancing their close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, especially Kampuchea and Laos, have recorded great achievements in their socialist construction, thus building material and technical basis of socialism.

"As the first socialist state in Southeast Asia, Vietnam has become a nucleus force in the revolutionary struggle outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia, and greatly contributed to the world people's [as received] for peace, independence, democracy and social progress.

"We warmly welcome acclaim and highly value the comprehensive achievements made by the fraternal Vietnamese people, have shared the same trench in the struggle against the common enemies. We consider the Vietnamese people's revolutionary gains our own, and wholeheartedly wish the fraternal Vietnamese people greater successes in their national defence and socialist construction.

"We are strongly convinced that the resolutions adopted by the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam will pave the way for the Vietnamese people to steadily advance to prosperity.

"We profoundly thank the fraternal party and people for their unreserved support and precious assistance full of the spirit of proletarian internationalism given the Kampuchean party and people in the latter's national defense and socialist construction.

"We engrave deep in our heart the noble merits of all the Vietnamese mothers and wives who have sent their sons and husbands to save the Kampuchean people from the extinction and help them build socialism. We would like to reaffirm our loyalty to the solidarity with the Vietnamese party and a vital demand of the Kampuchean people and a law for the development of the Kampuchean revolution.

"We are determined to preserve for ever this blooming solidarity and to learn from the courageous struggle Vietnamese people's resolute and bravery by upholding the spirit of self-reliance and collective mastership, overcoming all difficulties and obstacles so as to defend our independent, free and socialist in conformity with the ideal President Ho Chi Minh — artisan of the revolution of the three Indochinese countries. [sentence as received]

"May the special friendship and militant solidarity and cooperation between our two parties and two peoples, further consolidate and develop.

"We wish the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam success."

#### Addresses Congress

BK170939 Phnom Penh SPK in English 0516 GMT 17 Dec 86

[Text] Phnom Penh SPK December 16 — Heng Samrin, general secretary of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee, head of the Kampuchean high-level delegation, delivered a speech yesterday afternoon at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam opened in Hanoi yesterday.

Following is the full text:

"With a great pleasure and pride, our delegation has an honour to participate in the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam. On behalf of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea Central Committee, the entire Communists and the entire people of Kampuchea, we would like to express our revolutionary greetings to the party, the Communists and the fraternal people of Vietnam.

The Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam is an important event of historic significance, demonstrating the steadfastness and might of socialist forces and the growth of the socialist construction in the three Indochinese countries. It is also an event of great significance of our times.

Dear comrades,

Through hard trials it has undergone during the long struggle against colonialism, imperialism and expansionism, the glorious Communist Party of Vietnam, founded and led by the [late] President Ho Chi Minh, made all its efforts to fight against enemies, winning national independence, socialism and peace for the three Indochinese countries. These victorious struggles have actively contributed to the cause of peace and socialism the world over.

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution, together with the victory of the Kampuchean and Lao revolution, has opened a new era for the Indochinese peninsula: The three countries have gained their independence and march toward socialism, they have become a solid outpost of socialism in Southeast Asia.

Eleven years have elapsed since the 1975 historic victory; the Vietnamese revolution has strongly developed and recorded many great achievements in all spheres. Under the clear-sighted leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people are able to bring into full play the spirit of their traditional patriotism and revolutionary heroism, build the militant alliance with Kampuchea and Laos and closely unite with the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. They have overcome many great difficulties to well defend their revolutionary gains.

During the first years of socialist construction, Vietnam had only a backward agriculture ravaged partly by wars, natural calamities and by the enemy. However, the Vietnamese people have gradually surmounted all obstacles and successfully fulfilled the 1981-1985 state plan. At the same time, Vietnam took appropriate measures to step up production, thus creating favourable condition for the success of the 1986-90 five-year plan.

The Vietnamese people have obtained remarkable progress in the domains of culture, education, public health, technology and science. In the field of national security and defence, the Vietnamese Armed Forces and people have bravely fought against the enemy, defeating all wars of aggression and destruction and firmly defending their national frontier and stabilizing their living conditions.

With its correct foreign policy and its efforts for peace and other noble objectives of the time, that is, to uphold the two banners: national independence and socialism, the international prestige of the Communist Party of Vietnam and the Socialist Republic of Vietnam has been constantly raised.

The victory of the Vietnamese revolution has contributed to strengthening the revolutionary forces of the three Indochinese countries as well as of the socialist community and exerted great impact on the revolution in the world.

We warmly acclaim your great victories and consider these our own.

The People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people take great pride in their valiant courageous comrades-in-arms and loyal brothers, the heroic party of Vietnam and the Vietnamese people, who have always given the Kampuchean people wholehearted support and effective assistance full of the noble sentiment of the working class.

Dear comrades,

We have closely followed and highly valued the Political Report of the C.P.V. Central Committee presented by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh.

It is an important document which contains precious experience drawn from the development of the Vietnamese revolution since the fourth congress. It has been resulted from the creative application of Marxism-Leninism to the practical conditions of the revolution in each country so as to well carry out all tasks for the interests of its people. For the Kampuchean revolution, it is a very invaluable model in building for new regime.

The Political Report, presented at the sixth party congress and made with the spirit and intelligence of the entire party and people, has demonstrated the rapid growth and new development. Within the Communist Party of Vietnam in the field of moral and organization so as to effectively develop the national economy and social progress. [sentence as received]

The Communist Party of Vietnam which is always conscious of Marxism-Leninism and guided by the spirit of collective leadership, has unceasingly brought into full play the intelligence and capacity of the collective leadership which has been strengthened by the national unity and the solidarity with the force of our times, first of all the Soviet Union and other fraternal socialist countries. We are firmly convinced that under the clear-sighted and correct leadership of the Communist Party of Vietnam, the Vietnamese people will successfully carry out the resolutions of the C.P.V.'s Sixth Congress, in which two strategic tasks are well defined: to defend and build socialism in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. To the Kampuchean people and their Armed Forces the victories of the Vietnamese revolution will remain for ever a vigorous encouragement, inspiring them to enhance their combative spirit and determination to defeat all perfidious moves of colonialism, imperialism, expansionism and the genocidal clique, to defend Kampuchea's national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity.

The Kampuchean people and their vanguard party highly appreciated the timely and effective support and assistance, moral and material even in blood, of the fraternal Vietnamese people to their cause of national liberation, which has saved them from the genocidal Pol Pot regime and brought about the rapid rebirth of our people.

The Kampuchean party and people highly value the militant solidarity and the lofty sacrifices of the Vietnamese Army volunteers and experts over the past eight years. The valuable assistance from Vietnam has been a positive contribution to the national construction and defence of Kampuchea and to the gradual improvement of our people's living conditions.

We will never forget these merits and would like to express our profound gratitude to the Vietnamese mothers and wives for their noble contributions to the Kampuchean revolution.

On this occasion, we would like, on behalf of the People's Revolutionary Party of Kampuchea and the entire people of Kampuchea, to express our fraternal sentiments and most profound gratitude to the glorious Communist Party of Vietnam and the heroic Vietnamese people.

At present, the situation in the region and the world is very complicated due to the bellicose imperialist forces which have not given up their counter-revolution and subversive activities against nations in the world.

We are fully aware that the militant solidarity, friendship and comprehensive cooperation between Vietnam and Kampuchea, and among the three Indochinese countries are a vital issue to the destiny of all the three countries.

Our task, more than ever, is to constantly tight up these forces so as to build a force which no enemy can destroy. We once again reaffirm that the Kampuchean people's stance is one of goodwill. The Kampuchean people, together with the fraternal peoples of Vietnam and Laos, wish for relations of good neighbourliness with the other countries.



in the region and will do their utmost to make Southeast Asia a zone of peace, stability and cooperation.

We fully agree and support all the peace proposals advanced by the Soviet Union aimed at warding off the danger of a nuclear war and building a comprehensive security system in the Asia-Pacific region and a comprehensive security system throughout the world.

We wish to warmly thank all comrades, the communist parties, the workers and revolutionary movements for their support and assistance to the just revolutionary causes of Kampuchea.

May the militant solidarity, close friendship and multiform cooperation between the two parties and two people of Kampuchea and Vietnam constantly develop and last forever.

May the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam be crowned with brilliant success.

Long live peace and socialism".

/6091

CSO: 4209/396

CHILE: JORGE MONTEC, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CHILE

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 66 p 6

[Speech by Jorge Montec, head of the Communist Party of Chile delegation to the VCP Sixth Party Congress]

[Text] On behalf of Chilean communists I would like to warmly greet the Sixth Congress of the glorious Vietnam Communist Party. The report by comrade Truong Chinh, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the VCP and Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, affirmed your determination to make new advances in the great undertaking of building socialism. We understand that that victorious spirit has inspired the Sixth Party Congress and your fight in the new developmental phase of Vietnamese society.

Today, in Chile, under the fascist regime, our people are living under difficult, dangerous, and miserable conditions, but they are also full of hope. In order to cope with that situation, the Communist Party appeals for the working class and the people to mobilize mass enthusiasm by all means at hand, while achieving the widest solidarity possible against fascism to accelerate the collapse of the dictatorial regime. Only by resolute struggle and solidarity of the forces opposed to Pinochet can we win victory.

With the support of the United States, the fascist takeover was a repositioning of dependent capitalism and made Chile and its armed forces organic parts of the military system of the United States, which points its guns at all continents. The fascist regime also means that Chile is included in the Pentagon's plans regarding the Pacific and South Atlantic regions. For that reason, the struggle against fascism is intimately related to the struggle for mutual understanding and for peace of all nations, for national independence, and for progress and socialism. We enthusiastically welcome the proposals of the Soviet Union regarding disarmament and the prohibition of the use of nuclear weapons, its decision to unilaterally deciding to end nuclear testing, and the proposals to the Soviet Union at Reykjavik. We stand beside Cuba, Nicaragua, and the Sandinista warriors. We support the people of Paraguay in their struggle for freedom. We protest aggression against Libya and against any other state, nation, or people. We support the establishment of a Palestinian Arab state. We protest the apartheid regime, Zionism, and all forms of racial discrimination. We appeal for solidarity with our

fatherland and oppose fascism. We demand an end to the dictatorship, freedom for political prisoners, and an end to enforced foreign exile. We appeal for the creation of strong international pressure to establish democracy in Chile. Our victory will not only mean an end to a terrorist regime but will also be a contribution to peace and detente, and a significant blow against a link of the aggressive system of imperialism. We are aware that democracy can make progress in Latin America. Not a few nations have brought an end to their reactionary military regimes. That tendency has also spread to our country, where our struggle is supported by international solidarity. It is necessary to enable international solidarity to become a great and strong current in support of the struggle of nations against imperialism.

The people of Chile welcome the noble solidarity, especially of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, including Vietnam, of the international workers' movement, and of a considerable number of governments of the workers and people of the world. We Chileans nurture in our hearts the noble value of internationalism.

The cause of workers is one of the entire world. The birth of the Soviet Union, the result of the great October Revolution, and the formation of the socialist community, have brought about an absolute change in the comparison of forces in the world. Those events have created the capability for all peoples to struggle for and win democracy and social progress.

History has entrusted to the Vietnamese people an heroic struggle to liberate themselves from colonialism, defeat American intervention, and undertake the great enterprise of building socialism. That process is closely tied in with the evolutionary thoughts and acts of millions of your people, the name of the beloved President Ho Chi Minh, and the Vietnam Communist Party.

Our Communist Party of Chile, and especially comrade Luis Cocvalan, hope that the resolution of the Sixth Party Congress will bring about new accomplishments and even greater victories in your unending enterprise of social development.

5616

CSO: 4209/263

CONGO: DANIEL ABIBI, CONGOLESE WORKERS PARTY

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 7

[Speech by Daniel Abibi, head of the delegation of the Congolese Workers Party, at the VCP Sixth Party Congress]

[Text] The convening of the Sixth Congress of the VCP is an event of great political significance and has a very great importance in two regards. On the one hand, its thoughts with regard to ideology and recapitulation of experiences to consolidate your revolutionary accomplishments will contribute to further enriching the history of the liberation struggle, a struggle that has allowed your beautiful country to have the opportunity, thanks to your nation's glorious traditions of resistance war and combat, to write moving pages about extraordinary heroism and service to the sacred undertaking of national independence.

Furthermore, at a time when tensions in the world are reaching a fever pitch because of the more impetuous attitude of imperialism, which is clinging hopelessly to its outmoded policies on the Middle East, South Africa, and Central America, this Congress is a very good forum for the forces which love peace, justice, progress, and freedom to reaffirm their militant solidarity with the peoples who are struggling to regain their countries and to regain their inviolable right to determine their own destiny.

That is the profound sentiment of the members the delegation of the Congolese Labor Party, whom you invited to participate in the work of the congress. We regard that as a great honor because we will be witnesses to the victorious conclusion of a new phase in the great undertaking of developing, strengthening, and deepening the revolutionary process in the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which is beginning its fourth 5-year plan (1986-1990).

The delegation of the Congolese Labor Party expresses its sincere gratitude for its invitation to participate in this historic congress. At the same time, I would like to, on the occasion of this happy event and on behalf of comrade Doni Satsa Nguesso, Chairman of the Central Committee of the Congolese Labor Party, relay to all comrade delegates present here the most intimate and warmest militant salutations. We sincerely hope that the Vietnamese people, our friends and brothers, will win even greater victories in the future on the correct path of social liberation.



Loyal to its internationalist belief, the Congolese Labor Party requested me, as the head of the Congolese Labor Party delegation to your Sixth Party Congress, speak of the very special position of the glorious image, brilliant example, and immortal teachings of the illustrious leader Ho Chi Minh in the memory of the Congolese reactionaries. Today, in my country recall with emotion the special life of a person who for many years worked at all sorts of trades and saved a very small amount of money so that he could later engage in secret revolutionary activities. The Congolese people are proud to recall that the person who would later become Nguyen Ai Quoc, and then Ho Chi Minh, set foot on Congolese soil in the 1920's, when his ship stopped at Pointe Noire. President Ho Chi Minh will always be part of the spiritual inheritance of all progressive forces of the world.

In my country, after the people's victory of August 1963, and in order to avoid all plots of the powers allied with imperialism, which sought to smash the movement, the Congolese revolutionaries, under the leadership of Major Marien Nguabi in December 1969, made the important decision to found the Congolese Workers Party. The party could not avoid a number of internal contradictions, it overcame them victoriously, especially after the movement of 5 February 1979, which was guided, mobilized, and coordinated by Doni Satsa Nguesso.

The new political leadership committee that was formed after the third extraordinary congress of our party in March 1979 created subjective conditions and calmed souls and minds prior to the objective material conditions of the first 5-year economic and cultural-social plan, a very great challenge which is concluding now.

That great event enabled the Congo to undergo more profound changes during the past 5 years than during the 80-year colonial period and the first years of our country's nominal independence.

In 1965, our country's people made two courageous decisions: to nationalize education and to eliminate the French military bases on our soil. During that time we faced the danger, as the Vietnamese proverb goes, of "chasing a tiger from the front door and receiving a leopard at the back door." Thanks to the assistance, in a spirit of internationalism, of the countries in the socialist camp, the people of our country were able to victoriously pass through that difficult phase. We will never forget that the people of your country, who at that time had to cope with the most barbaric war inflicted on a nation in the second half of the 20th Century, did not hesitate to respond to our appeal by sending us a group of Vietnamese doctors and surgeons whose ability and tireless devotion to their work became a legend in our country. That friendship, which has been woven year after year by our parties and people, has been consolidated and strengthened within the framework of a common agreement and a cooperative program.

Your struggle is our struggle and your victories, and we cannot be indifferent to your difficulties. We wish you many more brilliant victories in the enterprise of consolidating a socialist society in Vietnam.

5616

CSO: 4209/263

CUBA: JORGE RISQUET VALDES, COMMUNIST PARTY OF CUBA

BK291155 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 17 Dec 86 p 7

[Speech by Cuban delegation head Jorge Risquet Valdes, Political Bureau member and secretary of the Communist Party of Cuba Central Committee, at the Sixth CPV Congress in Hanoi; date not given]

[Text] I would like to express the great honor and elation of the Cuban delegation for being able to come to President Ho Chi Minh's heroic country and make today's address to you—the worthy delegates of the CPV—at this, the sixth congress of your party.

I would like to convey to you, comrades, and the Vietnamese people, the warm greetings of our communist party and people, and particularly, a tight hand shake from Comrade Fidel Castro.

This historic congress is taking place in an atmosphere of profound self-criticism and criticism. It is, at the same time, an event of revolutionary affirmation where you have once again stressed the traditions of solidarity, staunchness, and combativity. Those virtues enabled the CPV to lift the revolution to victory and make it today a steady standard bearer of the principles of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism for peace, national independence, and socialism.

We remember with immense emotion the glorious pages of history written with the blood and courage of the best sons and daughters of the Vietnamese people in smashing the yoke of the French colonial regime and then inflicting a humiliating defeat on the arrogant U.S. imperialists. Nowadays, once again, you are foiling the enemy's acts of aggression against your beloved motherland.

Following its liberation and unification through one of the greatest armed exploits of the 20th century, to demonstrate that all nations would be able to achieve victory if they knew how to fight fearlessly, Vietnam helped the Cambodian people who were victimized by the genocidal Pol Pot regime, a regime not unlike the one experienced by the Polish people under Nazism.

This is mainly what has convinced us that in the face of new and complicated tasks aimed at renovating the economic structure and management mechanism in order to use the country's latent potentials to the maximum extent, the party and diligent people of Vietnam will certainly advance regardless of difficulties and will build a Vietnam 10 times more beautiful as expected by the immortal Ho Chi Minh.

We will return to our country with a firm conviction that under the CPV's clear-sighted leadership and the resolute support of the Vietnamese people, nothing and no one can divert you from the path that you have selected.

Peace, which is necessary in order to concentrate our effort on today's development tasks for the sake of our people's happiness, is being seriously threatened by the aggressive and adventurous policy of the U.S. Government and its war-like ambitions as well as its illusionary dream of military superiority. This has led to the most frantic arms race in history.

With extreme irresponsibility, Reagan is stubbornly organizing "Star Wars" aimed at threatening life on earth from outer space.

At this dangerous juncture when mankind is threatened by nuclear disaster, we highly value the responsible, resolute, and cool-headed policy of the Soviet Union. We reassert our total support for Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's proposals to eliminate nuclear weapons in the remaining years of this century. We welcome Comrade Gorbachev's proposals at the Reykjavik meeting and highly value the good will of the Soviet Union to unilaterally prolong the moratorium on nuclear tests.

This dangerous situation caused by the arms race has led to a huge waste of economic resources and has brought the issue of foreign debt to an alarming level. These debts are the consequences of the cruel exploitative policy imposed by the imperialist powers on nations of the Third World. Foreign debt is becoming a political issue originating from an outdated, forcible, and irrational order that prevails in international economic relations. To cope with these debts, as our commander-in-chief, Comrade Fidel Castro, has proven several times, there is no other measure than abolishing all these debts, establishing a new international economic order, and seeking measures to promote economic cooperation among nations.

We wholeheartedly support the correct peaceful policy of the Vietnamese party and government which is aimed at achieving a peaceful solution through negotiation with the ASEAN countries and all other regional countries on the basis of respect for each other's independence and sovereignty without interference in each other's internal affairs. We support the Indochinese countries' stand stipulated in the communique of the 13th conference of Indochinese foreign ministers which expresses the desire of restoring the traditional friendship with the Chinese people.

Our country has always earnestly desired peace. Over the past quarter of a century, however, we have had to be permanently vigilant against blockade, threats, and aggressive acts by the U.S. imperialists. Nevertheless, between life and death, we have turned ourselves into an inviolable fortress against all enemies.

Along with implementing our national defense duty, we are working positively to correct mistakes and shortcomings in order to enhance management efficiency, provide economic leadership and make the ideological education of the Cuban people more profound.

In performing our difficult yet beautiful revolutionary tasks, we have always received the solidarity and helping hands of the Soviet friends, all other countries in the socialist community, and all peace- and justice-loving forces in the world. Among the manifestations of such solidarity, always shining is the solidarity which the brothers, government, and glorious Communist Party of Vietnam have shown us. Please accept here our boundless gratitude.

We wish you, comrades, the most complete success in implementing the resolutions to be adopted at this Sixth Party Congress. We are proud of the friendly, frank, profound, and brilliant relations that bind our two parties and we pledge to continue the struggle in the future to tighten these relations which nothing can break.

/8309

CSO: 4209/198



CZECHOSLOVAKIA: JOSEF KEMPNY, CZECHOSLOVAK COMMUNIST PARTY

LD161431 Prague CTK in English 1354 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Text] Hanoi, 16 Dec (CTK correspondent)--The Czechoslovak and Vietnamese Communist Parties are linked with historical ties of friendship, Josef Kempny, head of the Czechoslovak delegation, stressed here today at the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

The Czechoslovak Communist Party Presidium member and chairman of the Czech National Council emphasized that bilateral relations based on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism are successfully developing in all spheres in the spirit of the treaty of friendship and cooperation between Czechoslovakia and Vietnam. These relations are characterized by mutual respect, confidence and understanding, Josef Kempny stressed.

Josef Kempny added that one of the main prerequisites for the successful development of socialism in Czechoslovakia is close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist states and consistent coordination of joint actions in all spheres.

He pointed out the necessity of greater effectiveness of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and further progress in the development of international socialist economic integration, as it was discussed at the Moscow CMEA session.

Josef Kempny pointed out that the initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries show solutions to the most urgent problems of the present, ensuring of peace and security on the Earth. In Reykjavik, the Soviet Union formulated a comprehensive approach to nuclear disarmament, he added.

The Czechoslovak delegate stressed that Czechoslovakia resolutely condemns the attempts of imperialism to spread armament into outer space as they are at variance with common sense.

The United States, massing an immense military potential in the Asian-Pacific region and attempting to change this region into a scene of military-political confrontation, proves that it did not draw a lesson from the Vietnam War.

Czechoslovakia resolutely supports the peace foreign policy of Vietnam, the efforts of the three Indochinese countries to install peace, stability and cooperation in South East Asia, Josef Kempny stressed.

/6091

CSO: 4209/396

DPRK: KIM YONG-CHAE, WORKERS PARTY OF KOREA

BK290630 Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 18 Dec 86 p 6

[Speech delivered by Kim Yong-chae, head of the WPK delegation, at the 16 December morning session of the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] First, allow me, on behalf of the WPK Central Committee, to express my warmest greetings to the Sixth CPV Congress and extend to you, comrade delegates, and through you to the communists and people of Vietnam, the greetings from the communists and people of Korea.

Right from the early days, when it was just founded, and through a long period of time, the CPV has led the Vietnamese people's difficult struggle for national salvation against imperialism and the Americans and eventually has been able to terminate the colonialist domination by the imperialists in Vietnam, thereby achieving national unification and regaining total independence for its fatherland.

This is the result of the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people who did not balk at making sacrifices and who struggled heroically for the cause of national liberation and independence.

After the country was unified, the CPV persistently led a struggle for stabilizing the people's lives and socialism on a national scale.

As a special gesture to welcome the Sixth CPV Congress, the Vietnamese people launched a boisterous socialist labor emulation movement to fulfill their tasks in the first year of the Fourth 5-Year Plan and they have attained new successes.

We wish the Vietnamese people success in pushing socialist construction vigorously forward in accordance with new guidelines charted at your sixth party congress.

In the past, under the clear-sighted leadership of our great leader, Comrade Kim Il-song, and under the difficult situation in which our country is in a state of partition and is directly confronted by U.S. imperialism, the arch-international reactionary, our party and people have successfully carried out the socialist revolution in various stages, positively built socialism, and

through this, turned our country into a socialist country which is independent politically and self-sufficient economically and is capable of taking care of its own self defense.

Imperialist and reactionary forces, together with U.S. imperialists, are attempting to reverse this trend of historical development in order to regain the position they have lost. They are intensively increasing their schemes of military aggression and are openly speaking out their ambition of destroying socialism by means of a military superiority. They are intensifying the production and deployment of their nuclear weapons through their adventurous "Star Wars" program under which they are attempting to bring the arms race to space.

With their ambition of achieving global supremacy, the U.S. imperialists are trying to turn Asia into a theater of military-political dispute with socialism. They are intensifying the arming of themselves in the region with nuclear arms while pressing for the formation in Asia of a new, NATO-type military bloc, the axis of which being the tripartite U.S.-Japanese-South Korean military alliance. This alliance has constantly conducted many large-scale military exercises similar to those nuclear war games conducted in South Korea, Japan, and other nearby regions.

As a result, the situation in Asia and in the Korean peninsula has become all the more tense. Peace and security in Asia are being placed under serious threat.

Today, a new war, no matter where it takes place, can easily go beyond its geographical scope and can turn into a hot, world nuclear war. Thus, a horrific nuclear catastrophe can befall upon mankind at any time.

In opposition to the U.S. imperialists' war-like policy, the WPK and the people of Korea are launching a vehement struggle aimed at easing tension in Asia and the Korean peninsula, preserving peace, and resolving the question of achieving national unification in Korea through peaceful means.

We have put forth many constructive and reasonable proposals for achieving national unification through peaceful and self-reliant means, including the proposal for the setting up of a Federal Democratic Republic of Korea. Particularly, this year we have proposed negotiations between military leaders and put forth a peace proposal for turning the Korean peninsula into a nuclear arms-free zone of peace.

Clearly aware of its lofty mandate toward the nation and for the sake of the socialist undertaking and of world peace, the WPK will try its best to struggle to ease tension in the Korean peninsula, resolve the question of national unification through peaceful and self-reliant means and to unite with all the progressive forces in the world to struggle persistently for the sake of peace and independence in Asia and for turning Asia into a zone free from aggression and war.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my gratitude to the communist party and people of Vietnam for the support and solidarity they have given to our people's struggle for achieving national unification through peaceful and self-reliant means.

I am convinced that the friendship between our two nations, which has been consolidated during the common struggle against imperialism, will continue to flourish in the interests of the common struggle against imperialism for socialism.

/8309

CSO: 4209/198



EL SALVADOR: JORGE HALDAN, PARABUNDO MARTI FRONT FOR NATIONAL LIBERATION

Hanoi VNA in English 1501 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Speech by Safic Jorge Haldan, general secretary of the Parabundo Marti Front for National Liberation]

[Excerpt] "To the Salvadorian revolutionaries, Vietnam is an incarnation of the immortal victorious will against any oppression and any enemy. Vietnam embodies the exploit of all nations who carry out revolutionary struggle under the leadership of a really revolutionary vanguard contingent with high determination, militancy and talents like the party of President Ho Chi Minh. The CPV has proven in each historical stage its capacity to unite and rally the entire people in the struggle with broad international support to isolate the enemy and win total victory.

"Today, with the will of a surely victorious nation, unified Vietnam is advancing forward in socialist construction while defending itself from outside pressure and generously performing its internationalist duty. Under the CPV leadership this country has become a firm fortress of peace in southeast Asia which has witnessed continuous upheavals, and a decisive factor for the victorious struggle of the three fraternal Indochinese countries in their struggle against foreign domination."

/6091

CSO: 4209/396

**ETHIOPIA: TEKA TULU, ETHIOPIAN WORKERS PARTY**

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 5

[Speech by Teka Tulu, the Ethiopian Workers Party chief delegate to the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] First of all, on behalf of Mengistu Haile Mariam, the general secretary of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers Party, chairman of the Provisional Military Administrative Council, and commander in chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, and on behalf of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers Party, members of the communist party, the working people of Ethiopia, and myself, I have the honor to convey warm wishes to the communists and working people of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and to the delegates attending this historical congress.

The revolutionary people and working people of Ethiopia are very interested in the efforts and struggles of the heroic people of Vietnam for independence, unity, and socialism under the vanguard leadership of the CPV.

The heroic Vietnamese people's praiseworthy struggle against feudalism and imperialism, in which brilliant victories have been scored, and the resistance against Japanese fascism and French and American imperialism have set a bright example for oppressed peoples throughout the world who are fighting for equality and freedom.

Under the leadership of the communist party, the heroic people of Vietnam continue to hold high the banner of peace, justice, and democracy in the exemplary struggle for the victory of socialism.

The resolute struggle being carried on by the working people of Vietnam under the leadership of the CPV has made a great contribution to strengthening the socialist movement and world revolution, particularly in Indochina.

The Sixth Congress of the CPV has opened a new chapter in the history of the ever-victorious Vietnamese people. This congress is of great significance with respect to strengthening the efforts of the Vietnamese working people.

Furthermore, in the present objective situation, the role of this congress, together with peace-loving forces throughout the world, in contributing to maintaining security and peace for mankind and saving the world from total destruction is of great historical significance.

We were very interested in the political report of the CPV Central Committee presented by Truong Chinh. This political report reviewed the tasks that have been completed during the period since the last party congress.

This political report not only analyzed the achievements scored and the difficulties encountered in implementing the resolution of the Fifth Party Congress but also set guidelines for the coming years.

The achievements scored by the Vietnamese people in the political, economic, social, and cultural spheres are evidence of the correct leadership of the CPV. We applaud the unwavering resolve of the people of the SRV to build a socialist society.

The Ethiopian Workers Party feels certain that the successes of the Vietnamese people will play an important role in maintaining peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

The long tradition of solidarity and friendship among the peoples of the three Indochina countries provides a strong guarantee for maintaining peace in this zone. The evil actions of the imperialists and international reactionary forces have suffered defeat in the face of the solidarity and cooperation between the SRV, PRK, and LPDR.

The 13th conference of the foreign ministers of Vietnam, Cambodia, and Laos in Hanoi in August pointed out the ability of the three countries to play an important role in bringing peace and stability to Southeast Asia.

The Sixth CPV Congress is taking place at a time when world peace and security are being seriously threatened by the dangerous militaristic policies of the international imperialists, who are plotting to expand the arms race to space. The present moment requires a coordinated struggle on the part of all peace forces.

Regarding this, the peace initiatives have constantly stated that socialism resolutely advocates peace and social equality. Even though there was good will on the part of the Soviet Union, the Reykjavik meeting between General Secretary M. X. Gorbachev and President Ronald Reagan did not achieve the results hoped for because of the inflexible stand taken by Reagan, who continues to pursue the "star wars" program.

In its effort to survive, the South African policy of apartheid is blocking the struggle of the South African masses and is continuing to implement a policy of terror and barbaric aggression against the frontline countries.

The recent death of Samora Machel, the chairman of the FRELIMO Party, president of the People's Republic of Mozambique, and commander in chief of the Mozambique armed forces, and those accompanying him is a sad loss not only for the people of Mozambique but for all progressive, peace-loving, and democratic forces.

Revolutionary Ethiopia strongly condemns the barbaric terrorist actions mentioned above. On this occasion, I want to affirm once again that heroic Ethiopia is resolved to show solidarity with the struggles of the frontline countries in resolutely resisting intervention and aggression by the system of apartheid.

The party's action program aimed at improving the standard of living is a great task. The 10-year central plan adopted at the congress establishing the Ethiopian Workers Party has achieved encouraging results during the past 2 years.

One of the tasks being carried out in the Ethiopian revolution is to lay a foundation for establishing a Democratic People's Republic of Ethiopia.

The Democratic People's Republic of Ethiopia will be a system that manifests the political power of the working people of Ethiopia. On the other hand, the republic will play a role in the effort to build a socialist system.

As our party's program has stated, our foreign policy is to strength all-round cooperation with fraternal socialist countries. I firmly believe that the existing relationship of fraternal cooperation between our two parties and peoples will continue to be solidified.

At this historical congress, I want to assure you of the commitment of the communists and working people of Ethiopia to solidarity in the struggle to hit the common targets that this congress has expressed to us, sentiments that we share with the communists and working people of Vietnam.

To conclude, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Ethiopian Workers Party and myself, I want to express our warmest wishes to this congress. I wish the congress success in discussing and implementing the resolutions of this historical congress.

11943

CSO: 4207/262



FRG: ALAN WEBER, GERMAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 5

[Speech by Alan Weber, the German Communist Party chief delegate to the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] On behalf of the Central Committee of the German Communist Party and all communists in the Federal Republic of Germany, I would like to express warm fraternal greetings to the delegates attending the Sixth CPV Congress.

During the years of the criminal war waged by the American imperialists against your people, when I participated in the anti-war demonstrations, I never thought that I would one day be present here among you in a liberated Vietnam.

I want to say that your heroic struggle stimulated many youths in my country to become communists.

I will never forget the cheers of thousands of people for Ho Chi Minh, your great hero.

People throughout the world have expressed solidarity with you. And today, you, Vietnamese communists, are standing side by side with the people of El Salvador, Chile, South Africa, Namibia, and Palestine. All of us know that solidarity is our most powerful weapon. Solidarity can help win victory.

In the present period, more than ever before, it is necessary to strengthen the unity and joint activities of the communist and international workers movements.

The enemy, who caused great destruction in your country during a barbaric war that lasted tens of years, still threatens the world. By their evil words and actions, they are provoking an arms race and destroying the vital significance of the SALT-II treaty. They are militarizing space and making preparations using our country and other European countries to deal a nuclear blow against the Soviet Union and socialism.

The American imperialists have not abandoned their plan to carry on an "anti-communist crusade."

You and the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki have had to pay the price with your lives because of these adventurous and bellicose policies.

This cannot be allowed to happen again. By making a great effort together, we must force the imperialists to accept peace and live together in peace.

The hope of all of humanity was expressed in the very significant documents presented to the world by M. X. Gorbachev in Moscow on 12 January 1986 and in Reykjavik and in a speech in Vladivostok.

Not only have proposals and statements been made with great patience, but specific actions have been taken in support of socialism's policy of peace. Unilateral measures have been implemented to eliminate weapons, including making declarations and ceasing nuclear testing. But to date, the United States has responded by testing nuclear weapons 23 times.

The pressure to follow the direction of the arms race in the United States is provoking men who are concerned about peace. The United States hopes to make it necessary for socialism to increase its military strength, which will hinder socialism's efforts to solve the economic, social, human, educational, and political problems that exist in the world today. The Vietnamese know this better than we do.

Your country, party, and government are waging an active struggle in the movement by nonaligned countries to rid Asia and the world of nuclear weapons. We have the same targets.

I wish you success in implementing the resolutions of the Sixth CPV Congress.

11943

CSO: 4209/262

FRANCE: MAXIME GREMETS, FRENCH COMMUNIST PARTY

OW172050 Hanoi VNA in English 1855 GMT 17 Dec 86

[All names spelled as received]

[Excerpt] Hanoi, 17 Dec (VNA)--Many heads of foreign party delegations on 16 and 17 December delivered their speeches of greetings to the current 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Maxime Gremets, secretary of the Central Committee of the French Communist Party: "Those who oppose the liberation of your homeland, by imposing years and years of sacrifice on you, do not forgive you for your victories.

"To those terrible ravages of war, with its human and material devastation, to those serious handicaps of colonialism and neo-colonialism, for which they are responsible, they would like to and isolation and sanction by public opinion to your difficulties today.

"Please, be assured that we shall spare no efforts to reestablish the facts: the French and Vietnamese peoples have been forged through common action, a solid friendship which we will not allow to be altered by those who are nostalgic of a past that has definitely gone on the whole planet.

"Saying this, we keep our eyes wide open, as you do, on the great complexity that marks your tasks of today.

"We rejoice at the efforts made to overcome difficulties and conflicts left by history among socialist countries and the progress made in this domain between China and the Soviet Union and a growing number of socialist countries.

"We hope that this process will develop also between the two neighboring major socialist countries in the region, guaranteeing the independence and security of each.

"This would be a good thing for two countries and peoples, and an important contribution to peace in southeast Asia, all that goes in this direction enjoys our support. Where there is a will, there is a way. This is also true for Kampuchea, a country related to a political solution.

"We attach particular attention to the development of the relations between France and Vietnam, to the cooperation in all fields--economical, scientific and technical, cultural and political.

"We will act along that line because there lies the interests of both our nations."

76091

CSO: 4209/396



GDR: WERNER KROLIKOWSKI, SOCIALIST UNITY PARTY

AU181658 East Berlin: NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 1/ Dec 86 p 6

[Report on speech given by Werner Krolikowski, Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers, at the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam in Hanoi on 16 December]

[Text] On Tuesday [16 December] Werner Krolikowski began his speech in Hanoi's Ba-Dinh Palace by conveying the fraternal militant greetings of the SED, the Central Committee, and its General Secretary Erich Honecker to the delegates of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), all communists, and the working people of the SRV.

He said that the SED delegation is following with great interest the sixth party congress, which--loyal to the teachings of Marxism-Leninism--is taking stock of the decade of the socialist construction in reunited Vietnam after the historic victory over the U.S. aggressors, is discussing and going to decide the new tasks and objectives for further building socialism and for the struggle for peace.

#### Vietnam's People Fulfill a Historic Task

The speaker expressed a great respect for the industrious and altruistic work of Vietnam's Communists and working people. In spite of the extraordinary difficult conditions and strains in building and defending their home country, many branches of industry and agriculture have taken a considerable upswing, and the foundations of the socialist society have been consolidated.

Much has been done, and this sixth party congress will decide on further measures to heal the severe wounds of war, to improve and ease people's lives, to make possible education and health care for everybody, and to develop the creative skills and the great industry of the Vietnamese workers, peasants, and intellectuals in such a way that the country's riches are brought to bear better for everyone.

We share your pride, Werner Krolikowski said to the delegates, in your free and beautiful country, in its international authority, its solidarity with the peoples of Cambodia and Laos, in its respected place in our

family of socialist peoples. And we are certain that, inspired by the important decisions of this sixth congress of your Communist Party, the Communists and the entire Vietnamese people will fulfill their historic task and will proceed with confident steps on the path toward socialism.

In the same way as you have the solidarity support of the glorious Soviet Union and of the other fraternal socialist countries, our socialist GDR will also always loyally stand at your side in firm friendship, fraternal cooperation, and solidarity, the head of the SED delegation stated.

The SED and the CPV, and both peoples and states are linked by a deep, traditional friendship. The cordial, personal relations between Wilhelm Pieck, the first president of our worker-peasant state, and the esteemed President Ho Chi Minh are unforgotten, and also the great movement of the GDR people's solidarity with struggling Vietnam.

The alliance of the two parties and states has withstood the tests of time and has proved itself to be durable and reliable, said Werner Krolikowski. As Comrade Erich Honecker stressed, this friendship has "always developed under clear skies. Nobody and nothing can cloud over these skies."

The treaty on friendship and cooperation concluded in 1977 is being fulfilled in an ever more comprehensive way in mutual relations. A fruitful exchange of ideas and experiences characterizes the trusting cooperation between the two parties. Trade and diverse forms of economic cooperation are developing rapidly. Thousands of young Vietnamese are training in the GDR for tasks in the reconstruction of their homeland. Specialists from the GDR are fulfilling their class assignments in the coffee-growing region of Dac Lac Province, in forestry, and in higher education in the SRV. There is good progress in working out a long-term program of economic and scientific-technological cooperation up to the year 2000.

The SED and the people of the GDR will wholeheartedly continue to give manifold and effective support to fraternal Vietnam in building socialism, the speaker assured.

#### On the Tested Path of Intensification

He informed the delegates of the basic decisions taken by the 11th SED Congress for further shaping the socialist society in the GDR. The comprehensive socialist competition is yielding good results. Under the slogan "My workplace is my combat station for peace" the GDR working people have achieved high performances.

The decisions of the 11th party congress, Werner Krolikowski said, have brought even more into play the particular advantages and driving forces of socialism. The GDR is achieving the objective to reach a considerable

performance increase in the national economy on the tested path of comprehensive intensification by broadly applying top modern science and technology. As the latest Central Committee session noted, in the GDR it is important to continue the course of the main task in its unity of economic and social policy with new successes.

The dynamic economic growth is consistently ensured through the creative hard work of every individual. The GDR citizens have deep trust in the SED's policy because it is of benefit to them.

#### **To Ban Nuclear Weapons from Earth**

The GDR is realizing its plans in closest cooperation with the Soviet Union and the other fraternal countries, Krolkowski said. It considers deepening the socialist economic integration of the CEMA countries to be an important guarantee for a stable, dynamic development of the national economies. Therefore, the SED noted with satisfaction the results of the latest exchange of opinions of the general secretaries of the fraternal socialist countries in Moscow--results which are of historic significance for consolidating the unity and effective cooperation of the countries of the socialist community.

Among the people of the GDR there is a firmly-rooted awareness that every good deed to strengthen socialism makes peace more secure. The GDR citizens also give passionate support to the courageous policy of the Soviet Union and of all other member-states of the Warsaw Pact, directed as it is toward avoiding the danger of a nuclear catastrophe; the GDR makes an active contribution to working out and implementing this policy.

Now, more than ever, the joint struggle has to be aimed at making nuclear weapons disappear from our planet, at preventing a new round of the arms race and, in particular, at preventing its extension into space. Werner Krolkowski said that the implementation of the socialist countries' peace program, which has been inspired by the Soviet Union, which is supported more and more by people all over the world, and which contains the real possibility of preserving world peace, would take an enormous load off the shoulders of mankind and, at the same time, would free urgently needed means to overcome hunger and underdevelopment. The Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik offered a great historic chance for this. But this chance remained unused because the U.S. Administration put its dangerous and futile striving for military supremacy above the interest of mankind.

Nevertheless, the delegation head continued, Reykjavik was a great gain. The people's awareness of the possibility of a lasting and secure peace is now heightened. The need of the hour is to support a basic change in international relations, together with all forces of reason and realism in the world.

### **For Reaching an Understanding in Southeast Asia**

In this, Asia and the Pacific area are gaining an increasing importance. The SED fully supports the comprehensive proposals contained in the speech by Mikhail Gorbachev, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, in Vladivostok for the solution of problems in this part of the world, in the interest of peace and the peoples' security.

We also highly appreciate the SRV's, the Lao People's Republic's and the PRK's steadfast efforts to achieve dialogue and understanding in Southeast Asia, their joint constructive proposals for settling contentious issues by means of negotiations and for normalizing the relations with the neighboring states, Werner Krolikowski said and went on: The official friendship visit of Erich Honecker to the DPRK, the PRC, and the Mongolian People's Republic is an important contribution in our struggle to strengthen the positions of socialism and for more active cooperation between all socialist states to preserve peace. Our party assumes that the results of this visit will have a positive effect on international relations and will measure up to the great responsibility which the Communist and all peace-loving forces are fulfilling in the present, tense time.

Deeply impressed by the militant atmosphere of the party congress, the head of the SED delegation wholeheartedly wished the Vietnamese Communists and the fraternal Vietnamese people success in implementing the decisions of the sixth party congress.

He concluded his speech with cheers for the battle-tested CPV, the Vietnamese people, the glorious Vietnamese People's Army, the unshakable friendship between the SED and the CPV, between the peoples and states, and for socialism and peace.

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CSO: 4209/396



HUNGARY: CSABA HAMORI, HUNGARIAN SOCIALIST WORKERS PARTY

LD161307 Budapest MTI in English 1056 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Text] Hanoi, 16 Dec (MTI)—In his Tuesday contribution to the 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, Csaba Hamori, member of the Political Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Youth Union of Hungary and head of the Hungarian delegation, conveyed the greetings of the HSWP Central Committee and General Secretary Janos Kadar, praised the Vietnamese results attained in socialist construction amid difficult circumstances and spoke appreciatively of the open critical and self-critical tone of the CPV Central Committee report.

Csaba Hamori said, "We are convinced that the strategic line set for economic building work in the political report will be put into practice, and the hard working Vietnamese people will be able to overcome the present hardships. On behalf of the Hungarian working people and communists, we wish their work, which we continue to follow with great interest and respect, be crowned with further success. In the current stage of peaceful construction, too, they can safely rely on the internationalist solidarity of the Hungarian communists and people building socialism.

"Our socialist construction work and the well-being of our people are inseparable from the international situation which is fraught with continued tensions. The extremist circles of imperialism, in an effort to acquire an advantage in power and extend their political leverage, are invariably striving to impose an arms race of serious consequences on the world. They are attempting to intervene in the internal affairs of countries with socialist and other progressive social systems and provoking conflicts in different regions of the world. In conformity with their position of principle, the member countries of the Warsaw Treaty and other socialist states consistently work to bring positive changes in international relations. The second Soviet-American summit meeting was a highly important development. As a result of all that, the international atmosphere has slightly improved and the dialogue gained vigor. We highly appreciate and support the constructive and far-reaching Soviet proposals which offer realistic and mutually acceptable compromises for halting the arms race and reaching decisive agreements in various fields of nuclear disarmament. We take a stand for the negotiated settlement of international problems and are convinced that there is no

reasonable alternatives to peaceful coexistence between states with different social systems," Csaba Hamori said.

On socialist building work in Hungary, Csaba Hamori said that workers now are busy carrying out the resolutions passed by the 13th Congress of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party. Efforts are currently centered on a better accomplishment of economic tasks, the exploration of as yet untapped material and intellectual resources and getting organized to well-manage the economy. "We ascribe particular importance to the perfection of socialist democracy, and are working hard to attain our social-welfare policy aims.

"In accordance with the main line of our party, we are strengthening our friendship and cooperation with the Soviet Union and other countries of the socialist community, including the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. We uphold the efforts of the Indochinese people to be able to work in peace on having their country prosper. We are convinced that it is possible to find sensible ways and means acceptable to all for easing tensions in the Southeast Asian region and restoring good-neighborly relations. Our party declares solidarity for the peoples and revolutionary movement struggling for national independence and social progress in Latin America, Africa and Asia.

"We note with satisfaction that the Hungarian-Vietnamese relations are developing in the spirit of comradely agreement and cooperation, on the basis of mutual advantages. Our cooperation and friendship rest on the community of our ideas, we proceed side by side on the road of socialist construction and struggle together for peace and social progress. The Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party will continue to work for the further consolidation of relations between our parties, countries and peoples under the sign of mutual respect and on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and internationalist solidarity," Csaba Hamori said.

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CSO: 4209/396

INDIA: RAJASHEKHARA REDDY, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 5

[Speech by Rajashekhara Reddy, the Communist Party of India chief delegate to the Sixth CPV Congress]

[Text] I have the great honor to represent the All-India Council of the Communist Party of India [CPI] at this historical congress of the CPV. I want to convey the warm fraternal greetings of the All-India Council of the CPI, General Secretary Rajiatarao Rao, and all our party members to the delegates attending this CPV Congress.

Your party, the party of the immortal Ho Chi Minh, is highly respected and loved by our party and the Indian people. Your struggle to win independence, unify the country, and resist the French, Japanese, and American imperialists, particularly during the period following the world war, is an example of unparalleled sacrifice and heroism that has motivated all of us greatly. Your present struggle to restore your economy and create a basis for socialism at a time when you must deal with the threats and pressures of the imperialists and their lackies is an example of the loyalty of communists to their principles and firm standpoint.

Today, the world lives under the constant threat of nuclear war, a war that could completely destroy human civilization. The root of this threat is the desire of the American imperialists to rule the world and remake the world based on its own interests. The insatiable greed of the military-industrial complex, which is interested in making huge profits, has resulted in the American authorities continuing the arms race and expanding this race into space. These criminal forces want to militarize space through the so-called "star wars" program. They obstructed the summit meeting at Reykjavik.

Under the leadership of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev, the Soviet Union has put forward a number of suggestions to save mankind from the danger of nuclear war. The Soviet Union has made many constructive proposals to end the nuclear arms race and reduce and completely eliminate nuclear weapons by the end of this century. By unilaterally ceasing nuclear testing at a time when the United States continues to conduct such tests, the Soviet Union has proven that its declarations were made in all sincerity.

The peoples of the entire world, including the peoples in the imperialist countries, understand more and more clearly the present danger of nuclear war. They understand the wisdom of the Soviet proposals based on security for all sides.

The forces struggling for peace are growing stronger and stronger. The Soviet Union and the other countries in the socialist community, the powerful non-aligned movement, the democratic movement in the developed capitalist countries, and all those who are for peace irrespective of their political leanings and religious beliefs have made new progress in the struggle for peace. And this is the direction in which mankind is moving.

We are pleased to see that our country is pursuing a foreign policy of peace, nonalignment, opposition to imperialism, and friendship with the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community. This is an important contribution to the world's struggle for peace and its opposition to war.

It is becoming clearer and clearer that the imperialists and their allies are trying to divide the forces and destroy India's unity. These criminal forces are threatening the security of the world and endangering the freedom and territorial integrity of our country.

In this complex situation, our party and people must implement a policy that includes a struggle for peace, security, and national unity in conjunction with a struggle for socioeconomic change and for the daily interests of the masses. Our party firmly believes that unifying the party factions and left-wing and democratic forces of the country is the only way to make progress. In this situation, unifying the communist movements in India is of paramount importance. Our party advocates unifying the communist movements in India based on having principles.

Our people clearly understand the importance of friendship with the Soviet Union and regard this as a source of strength and help for our struggle to maintain national security and economic independence. The recent visit by General Secretary Gorbachev was a great success. The Indian people gave him a warm welcome as the leader of a country whose friendship with us has passed many tests. The fruits of this visit were the New Delhi Declaration and economic and cultural agreements, and various promises were made. As a result of this visit, Indian-Soviet relations are stronger than ever.

The Indian people have many bitter memories of their colonial past when the imperialists still ruled our country. We regained our freedom after almost 200 years of struggle. Thus, our people sympathize and have solidarity with all those throughout the world who are fighting for freedom. We have expressed solidarity with the people of South Africa, who are struggling against apartheid, with the people of Namibia, who are fighting for independence, with the people of Palestine, who are fighting for the right to have their own separate country, and with the people of Nicaragua and Cambodia, who are defending their independence and resisting intervention by the American imperialists. On this occasion, I would like to express our deep admiration for the international support that you have given to the people of Cambodia in their resistance against the genocidal Pol Pot clique.

Our party and people feel warm friendship for the Vietnamese people, and we wish the people of Vietnam prosperity, peace, and progress. We believe that under the leadership of your party, Vietnam will score outstanding socioeconomic achievements in the struggle to build socialism.

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CSO: 4209/263



INDIA: HARKISHAN SINGH SURJEET, COMMUNIST PARTY OF INDIA (MARXIST)

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 6

[Speech by Harkishan Singh Surjeet, head of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) delegation to the Sixth Congress of the CPV]

[Text] The Central Committee of the Communist Party of India (Marxist) conveys to the Sixth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party its warm fraternal greetings and wishes your Congress fine success. The Vietnam Communist Party, founded by the great revolutionary Ho Chi Minh, has an heroic and rich revolutionary tradition. The party's cadres and leaders were from the beginning forged in a struggle that lasted more than three decades, against the French and Japanese imperialists and later against the U.S. imperialists. Your party has a glorious history: the formation of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam in 1945, the liberation of the North in 1945, then waging the most resolute struggle, disregarding even death, to liberate the South and unify Vietnam. The victory you won over the cruellest enemy—the U.S. imperialists—is not only a chapter in your country's history but also helps strengthen all over revolutionary currents in the world, especially the national liberation movements. The example of Vietnam has enabled all oppressed people to believe that no power on this earth can suppress a nation determined to struggle for freedom.

The Vietnamese communists, under the leadership of Comrade Ho Chi Minh and later Comrade Le Duan, have made Marxism-Leninism their solid foundation, applied it to the specific conditions of Vietnam, and charted their own course to the liberation of themselves and society. Throughout that arduous struggle, your party has affirmed the leadership role of the working class, based itself on the worker-peasant alliance, and forged a united front of all anti-imperialist forces. The experiences of the Vietnamese revolution are living proof of the inevitable victory of Marxism-Leninism.

The unification of your beloved country and the overthrow of the yoke of neo-colonial occupation in the South have given rise to new challenges. Devastating warfare essentially destroyed the economy of the South and the imperialist occupation seriously damaged the social structure. The great undertaking of socialist construction in the South was carried out under extremely difficult conditions. Your party has devoted everything to rebuilding a war-ravaged economy and you have mobilized the people to make great sacrifices to develop the nation.

However, at this time you have to cope with a new threat. The danger of imperialist intervention in the Indochina region once again has revived the inhumane policies of the Pol Pot regime in Cambodia, which is seeking to beamirch socialism

itself. That aberration had transformed revolution into counterrevolution, and the Vietnamese Government had to help the Cambodian people maintain the Cambodian nation and avoid the peril of new imperialist intervention in the Indochinese countries. Since then, your party has resolutely sought a solution, by means of negotiations with the ASEAN countries, in order to resolve problems and ensure peace and security in Cambodia. Although even some ASEAN countries are beginning to understand things more clearly, and Cambodia is capable of building a stable new society, the U.S. imperialists continue to block all solutions that would allow the Indochinese countries to pursue activities to develop peace and concentrate on consolidating their national independence.

Therefore, Vietnam has had to experience countless difficulties in the lives of its people. We are confident that you will completely overcome those difficulties and set a course at this Congress by which the Vietnamese people can be mobilized to the highest degree to resolve all problems.

Your Congress has been convened at a time when the matter of preserving peace has become a priority problem on the international scene. Our party fully supports the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union, especially the stand taken by Comrade M.S. Gorbachev at Reykjavik. We also fully understand the need to develop new initiatives to consolidate peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. Our party regards the recent New Delhi Declaration by M.S. Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi as an important step in rallying world public opinion for peace.

We highly value the principled and resolute stand of your party in consolidating the forces of peace and defending socialism, and your solid support for the national liberation movements. Your role in the nonaligned movement has strengthened its anti-imperialist contents. Today, the struggle of the Nicaraguan people against U.S. intervention and the heroic struggle of the people of South Africa against racial discrimination indicate that the peoples of all continents are determined to oppose the exploitation and hegemonism of imperialism. That situation demands solidarity and unanimity on the part of all anti-imperialist and communist forces of the world in the life-or-death struggle to mobilize the peace forces and smash all imperialist plots to engulf the world in a nuclear disaster.

The people of India always stand beside the Vietnamese people in all struggles and challenges. The attitude of good will that pervades India and your historic struggle have inspired our people and forged close bonds of solidarity.

The Communist Party of India (Marxist) resolutely supports the Vietnamese communists and Vietnamese people in all phases and periods of struggle. Our party has mobilized all strata of Indian people--workers, peasants, youths, college students, women, and intellectuals--to have solidarity with the struggle of the Vietnamese people. Our people treasure its relationship with your party, a party which is resolutely loyal to the stands of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism. Therefore, we regard your Congress as an important event not only in the life of the Vietnam Communist Party but also in the life of the international communist movement.

On this historic occasion, we greet all delegates to the Sixth Party Congress and convey to you our best wishes and warmest salutations.

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INDIA: K.N. SINGH, INDIAN CONGRESS (I) PARTY

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 pp 6, 7

[Text of speech by Indian Member of Parliament K.N. Singh: "Greetings From the Indian Congress (I) Party Delegation"]

[Text] On behalf of the Indian Congress Party, its chairman and Premier Rajiv Gandhi, the Indian people, myself, and my colleague, Mrs Veena Verma, I have the honor to extend to you our greetings on this historic occasion and to sincerely wish your Congress success.

We have come here from the land of the Bodhisattva and Mahatma Gandhi, the men who conducted the crusades for mankind and peace. As I stand here in this conference hall, I am moved as I remember President Ho Chi Minh, who was not only your leader but also a pioneer in the struggle for freedom in the colonial world. In the League Against Imperialism led by Jawaharlal Nehru, the first premier of India, President Ho Chi Minh worked with Mr Nehru. He combined the noble ideals of liberating the working people with the views on morality and ethics. He was a Marxist Gandhi. We still remember his visit in India as the president of a struggling Vietnam. I would like to express our respect for him and for hundreds of thousands of Vietnamese heroes who have perished in the struggle for freedom and national reunification. Your struggle against the greatest military power the world has ever known will enter the history of mankind as a brilliant example of man's desire to be free from slavery. You have chased it from your land.

Permit me to remind you that you are meeting in this historic Congress at a time when the world is being threatened by the danger of nuclear war. We know by experience that the national reconstruction task is no less complicated and difficult than the struggle against foreign invasion. Your people have shown an indomitable spirit and tireless efforts in both fields. We are keenly observing the way you resolve the question of "rebuilding the country and gradually building a socialist society" with almost empty hands. Your decisions will have a profound significance not only for the Vietnamese people but also for the entire world. We have admired and will be admiring your unshakable determination in the efforts to create a lasting peaceful environment for the Indochinese states. Your solidarity is a factor of peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

These are the national and international issues that the Vietnamese and Indian people are familiar with. Although we have different social and political systems, we still learn a lot from each other's experiences. We are facing similar security problems and hoping to establish a world order without exploitation, inequality, and injustice. Back in 1955, G. Nehru said that the old ways of thinking and resolving issues among states would no longer have any value in the nuclear era. It is regrettable that a number of powers had no ability to escape the old and outdated habits and ways of thinking. Permit me to mention the historic meeting in New Delhi between Rajiv Gandhi, our premier, and General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev and their decision on the elimination of nuclear weapons aimed at creating a stable and peaceful world. On the question of nuclear weapons and the militarization of space, the stand of the nonaligned countries is very close to that of the Soviet Union. This fact has been fully proved by the discussions between General Secretary M.S. Gorbachev and our Premier Rajiv Gandhi in New Delhi.

I would like to add that we both have bitter experiences with the same neighbor, whose borders our two countries share. We understand the problems you have with that country and the brazen support it gives to the Pol Pot clique, who have committed genocide on the most horrible scale against the Cambodian people. In his recent trip to a number of Southeast Asian countries Premier Rajiv Gandhi indeed recalled the fact that those unfortunate people (the Cambodian people) had suffered from the most odious genocidal acts in history.

You are the staunch combatants fighting for independence and socialism in your country. You can understand very clearly how the imperialists are using our neighbors to the west to destroy our country's stability. But our 700 million people, under Premier Rajiv Gandhi's leadership, are determined to chase them away. Lately the Indian government decided to grant statehood to a small state under our central management and that neighbor of ours has loudly commented on it despite the fact that the matter totally is an Indian internal affair.

Your 6th Party Congress is one that has important significance and where you are making decisions that will long affect Southeast Asia as a whole.

We have historical relations and memories that were considered and strengthened in the common struggle against the colonial forces, old and new. We will have to continue working together to attain these objectives.

Once more permit me to extend to you our greetings and to sincerely thank you for giving me the honor to express myself at this forum.

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CSO: 4209/264



ITALY: EUGENIO ARIEMMA, ITALIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 6

[Speech by Eugenio Ariemma, head of the Italian Communist Party delegation to the Sixth Party Congress of the VCP]

[Text] The relationship between the Vietnamese people and the Italian people is very great. That friendship was formed during the period of your victorious liberation struggle against French occupation in the past, and later against the United States. All over our country there are dozens and hundreds of Italian Communist Party chapters bearing the name of the great President Ho Chi Minh.

We are very confident that today it is even more important to strengthen, in a specific manner and with greater determination, the solidarity and economic, cultural, and political cooperation between the developed industrial nations, such as Italy, and the nations seeking to escape from underdevelopment, such as Vietnam.

In April of this year, in the city of Firenze we Italian communists held our 17th party congress. The focal point of our deliberations at the congress was the matter of peace.

We are certain that with regard to peace there must be a turning point, an entirely new sense of responsibility, with regard to both quality and scope, in comparison to the past. Ending the arms race and reducing the number of weapons, especially nuclear weapons, must become a basic, irrefutable objective of everyone. Even in seeking true security for each nation and for the world as a whole, the political factors must become more important than the military factors. Any attempt to seek military superiority is unacceptable because doing so is a dangerous illusion and can only bring about insecurity for everyone.

That demands a profound change in the way of thinking about competition and security. The only path is to create an atmosphere of trust and cooperation, abandon all intentions of expansion and dominance, respect for the independence and autonomy of all nations, and refraining from intervening in the internal affairs of other nations.

Today there can be no unilateral security. Security can only be common security.

Clearly, that new viewpoint with regard to peace demands an end to the insane arms race, not only on earth but even in space. Our reply is "no" to Reagan's program of manufacturing nuclear weapons. We oppose "Star Wars."

We highly evaluate the peace initiatives of comrade M.X. Gorbachev. That policy and a dialogue between the United States and the Soviet Union would greatly benefit world peace.

Against that background, we believe that Italy, and Europe in general, can play an important role. If that is to be achieved, all EEC and NATO nations must have a more independent policy in order to accept the "Zero Option" with regard to medium-range missiles in Europe and to reject "Star Wars," as well as in establishing cooperative relations with the developing nations, such as Vietnam.

"Reaganism" and its conservative policies are undergoing a crisis in many European countries. During the past 7 or 8 years the left-wing forces in Europe have had to endure many serious attacks. But today there are conditions for reviving the initiatives and activities of the movement of workers and the forces of progress and change.

We Italian communists are struggling for a process of change. We are struggling by means of political initiatives and the mobilization of mass forces. On this occasion, I would like to point out the large demonstration by VIPs and scientists of many different ideological, religious, and political persuasions which took place in Rome on 25 October of this year, just before the Reykjavik meeting. Half a million people, especially youths, participated in that demonstration. I also want to point out many other struggles of the working masses demanding the renegotiation of labor contracts, the struggle of college students demanding changes in the school system, and the struggle movement of doctors and teachers.

In that spirit, I would like to convey to your Sixth Party Congress the greetings of the Italian Communist Party. We regard highly the very frank and explicit report of comrade Truong Chinh. We wish all of you success in making your selections. All developments in Vietnam and Vietnam's important role in the international community will depend on your selections. At the same time, on behalf of the Central Committee of the Italian Communist Party I would also like to assure you with regard to our responsibility toward enabling relations between our two parties and two nations to become increasingly strong and developed.

Although our two countries are thousands of kilometers apart, our similarities with regard to people, history, and culture are great and solid. The house of cooperation in all spheres must be built on that basis. There is no sphere in which there can be no cooperative agreements and programs between the two countries to benefit both Italy and Vietnam.

We will soon return to Italy after attending the Congress. We feel that we have a greater responsibility toward appealing for the government of Italy and the EEC to immediately prepare programs to assist and cooperate with your country.

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CSO: 4209/263

JAPAN: MURAKAMI HOROMU, JAPAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 5

[Speech by Murakami Horomu, the Japan Communist Party chief delegate to the Sixth VCP Congress]

[Text] On the occasion of the Sixth CPV Congress, the Central Committee of the Japan Communist Party would like to express its solidarity with and send warm greetings to all the delegates attending the congress and all members of the CPV.

The long domination by the colonialists and neocolonialists and the barbaric war of aggression waged by the imperialists left Vietnam in a backward position economically and in a state of ruin. But after defeating the war of aggression and unifying the fatherland, you have overcome the above obstacles and made a great effort to defend the fatherland, stabilize the standard of living, and build socialism. Preparations for this congress were made based on holding discussions to review the past 10 years. The shortcomings and weaknesses of the past were reviewed, and development guidelines were put forth for the coming years. From the bottom of our hearts, we wish your congress great success. We wish you success in overcoming the present obstacles and difficulties and in moving forward steadily on the path to becoming an independent, peaceful, and prosperous socialist country.

Your congress is being held at a very important time both here and abroad.

The unprecedented danger of nuclear war, which could exterminate mankind, requires that preventing nuclear war and completely eliminating nuclear weapons become urgent tasks in international political life. The results of the Soviet-U.S. summit meeting in Reykjavik show once again that turning the issue of preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons into the leading issue in international political life, in bilateral negotiations, and in the movements to oppose nuclear weapons, maintain peace, and isolate the forces that stubbornly cling to nuclear weapons and striving even harder to reach an international agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons are becoming more and more important. In the wake of the Reykjavik meeting, something of great importance is that the governments of the Western European countries stated their views with the aim of legalizing the existence of nuclear weapons. They said that eliminating nuclear weapons would be very

dangerous. The December 1984 Joint Declaration of the Japan Communist Party and the Communist Party of the Soviet Union called on all communist parties and peace forces to work together in carrying out an urgent task of vital importance to mankind, that is, preventing nuclear war and eliminating nuclear weapons. From the lessons of the International United Front Against Facism prior to the outbreak of the Second World War, the 17th Congress of the Japan Communist Party, which was held in November last year, formally appealed to all countries to establish an international anti-nuclear united front. The present situation shows that carrying out this task is becoming more and more urgent.

The Asia-Pacific region, which is where the peoples of Japan and Vietnam live, is the only region in the world where nuclear weapons have been used. The Indochinese and Korean peninsulas have faced the threat of nuclear weapons many times. There are nuclear weapons test grounds in this region, and many of these test grounds are now polluted from these nuclear tests. Naturally, the people who live in Asia have expressed their ardent hope in many forms, which is to transform this region into a nuclear-free zone. The struggle to turn this hope into reality must be expanded based on tying this to the struggle to reach an international agreement on the elimination of nuclear weapons throughout the world.

The movement to get people to sign the "appeal from Hiroshima and Nagasaki to ban and completely eliminate nuclear weapons" is an expression of the pressing and ardent hope of the people of the world. This movement was launched in 1985 by activists and peace movement representatives from 12 countries, including Japan and Vietnam. Today, this movement has expanded to 14 countries. In Japan alone, 22 million people have signed the appeal. We are now striving to obtain the signatures of half the people of Japan.

In the future, the Japan Communist Party will continue to stand in the forefront of this struggle. At the same time, we will strive to initiate more anti-nuclear activities to maintain world peace.

Along with preventing nuclear war and completely banning nuclear weapons, my party regards protecting the right of national self-determination as one of the central tasks of international solidarity. This is a prerequisite of world peace and the struggle against all hegemonic powers that seek to suppress the right of national self-determination.

With the Japanese-American security treaty, the Nakasone regime in Japan is tying Japan to the dangerous nuclear war strategy of the United States and suppressing the people's demands concerning welfare, education, and the people's livelihood. As the only party that regards the task of preventing nuclear war and completely banning nuclear weapons as an urgent task and as the only progressive party in Japan, our party is striving to gain the support of large numbers of people in order to form a non-nuclear and progressive government.

We firmly believe that our party's struggle to make Japan a non-nuclear country and turn it into a truly peaceful, democratic, neutral, and independent country is our responsibility not only to the people of Japan but



that it is our international responsibility in order to fulfill the hopes of the Asian peoples for peace, independence, and prosperity.

The relationship between the Japan Communist Party and the CPV expanded greatly during the resistance against the American imperialists, who waged a war of aggression against Vietnam, with the aim of establishing an international united front against imperialism. In the new situation since then, our two parties have continued to expand this relationship of friendship and solidarity based on the principles of independence, equality, and non-interference in the internal affairs of others. The conference between our party's delegation led by chairman Tejurdo Phuoc and your party's delegation led by General Secretary Le Duan in Hanoi in September 1984 was an important event that expanded the friendship, solidarity, and mutual understanding between our two parties, which share the same dream, that is, the dream of world peace and progress and peace and stability in Southeast Asia.

From the bottom of our hearts, our party hopes that through the struggle to fulfill the common dream of preventing nuclear war, eliminating nuclear weapons, protecting the right of national self-determination, and bringing about peace and stability in Asia and progress and prosperity in all countries based on the principles publicly recognized in the relationship between the parties, the relationship of friendship and solidarity between the Japan Communist Party and the CPV will continue to expand steadily.

11943

CSO: 4207/262

LAOS: KAYSONE PHOMVIHAN, LAO PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY

BK170945 Vientiane Domestic Service in Lao 0000 GMT 17 Dec 86

[Speech by Kaysone Phomvihan, general secretary of LPRP Central Committee and head of LPRP delegation, delivered at Sixth CPV Congress in Hanoi on 15 December — recorded]

[Text] Respected members of the Presidium; beloved delegations of fraternal parties; beloved delegates to the congress; comrades and friends:

The LPRP delegation would like to express warm salutations and close comradely and fraternal sentiments to the Sixth Congress of the noble and elegant CPV, the party of great President Ho Chi Minh, on this occasion. [applause] On this solemn occasion, I would like to express my sympathy for Comrade Le Duan, general secretary of the CPV Central Committee, a great friend of the Lao people, and other Vietnamese party and state leaders, who contributed to the cause of solidarity, militant alliance, and all-round cooperation between the two countries, who passed away and left us behind between the two periods of the Fifth and the Sixth Congresses of the CPV.

Beloved comrades, our party has followed with keen interest the preparations for the Sixth CPV Congress with an affectionate spirit and deep confidence in the close ties between our two parties which had the same beginning in the Indochinese Communist Party which was founded, trained, and tempered by Comrade President Ho Chi Minh. We are extremely proud of all successes recorded by the Vietnamese comrades in preparing for the congress. At this significant point in time, the CPV will determine various important issues of the nation in the new stage. The Political Report of the CPV Central Committee, as presented to this congress by Comrade General Secretary Truong Chinh, has profoundly and comprehensively reviewed the process of the Vietnamese revolution in the previous years and has correctly put forth the guidelines and tasks for the subsequent years. This has clearly shown the creative application of Marxism-Leninism and lessons of various fraternal countries to the practical, vital conditions of Vietnam. We particularly hail the heroic attitude of daring to face facts, making the correct assessment and the clear mentioning of the facts, and the Leninist spirit of self-criticism of you comrades. All of this has clearly proved the fact that the CPV is a strong Marxist-Leninist party which has maintained the glorious revolutionary tradition and which has been absolutely confident in the strength of the masses. They have clearly and straightforwardly pointed out their mistakes and shortcomings before the masses while having been determined to settle those mistakes and shortcomings in order to lead the revolution to march forward.

The various lessons that you comrades have drawn from the rich practices of the country have been valuable not only to the Vietnamese revolution, but also to the revolutionary

cause of our Lao people. They also have great international significance. We hold that the tendencies toward renovation in many fields as stipulated in the Political Report, such as the renovation of the way of thinking, first of all, in economic thinking, in organizational work, in cadre work, and in the methods of leadership and work style, has opened up great prospects for an effective exploitation of all the country's potentials and for promoting even more vigorously the creativity of the fraternal Vietnamese people. The said renovation will contribute to the strengthening of the special unity within the party, consolidating the people's confidence in the party's leadership, and raising the party's prestige to an ever higher level in the international arena.

We are convinced that through the said renovation, the Vietnamese people will certainly be sufficiently capable of overcoming various immediate difficulties, creating a new turning point in the socioeconomic field for the country, and improving their material and spiritual life. [applause]

The LPRP would like to take this occasion to salute and hail the significant achievements scored by the Vietnamese people in the past more than 10 years of their struggle full of sacrifice, difficulties, and complexities to build socialism, defend the country, and fulfill their lofty international obligations. [applause] Those achievements and victories have created new factors for the Vietnamese revolution to continuously march forward and to significantly contribute to the enhancement of the strength of the three Indochinese countries and of the socialist community in the world.

Beloved comrades, exactly a month ago, our Fourth LPRP Congress concluded in glorious success. [applause] The congress confirmed the great achievements in many fields that we have scored in the past 10 years of national defense and building. It straightforwardly pointed out various shortcomings in the party's leadership on the basis of the correct detailing of the true situation in the economic and social field of the country in the present. The congress also adopted guidelines and basic tasks for the whole transition period and for the period from now to the year 2000. The congress also unanimously approved the second 5-year plan for 1986-1990.

To ensure the successful implementation of the said guidelines and tasks, our party has specially stressed the determination to basically, profoundly, and comprehensively renovate the economic management mechanism, do away with the centralized bureaucratic administration based on state-financing system, and switch to the implementation of the absolute socialist business accountability mechanism. Our congress on this occasion marks the new step of significant renovation in the party's leadership in the political, ideological, and organizational fields. One of the most significant points in the said new renovation is the renovation in the contingent of leading cadres of the party. This has been reflected through the selection of leading cadres who maintain unique solidarity and industriousness and who grew up in the revolutionary movements of the masses to ensure the continual and achieving characteristics of the party's firm leadership. The success of the congress is creating new confidence, a new life-style, and a new determination of the entire party and entire people to strive to march forward to overcome various difficulties and obstacles and to successfully translate into reality the resolutions of the congress.

Our party and people always bear in mind that each victory of the Lao revolution cannot be separated from great international support and assistance. On this glorious occasion, we would like to express our sincere and deep gratitude to the parties and peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, the Soviet Union, and other fraternal socialist countries as well as friendly countries in the world for their precious support and assistance.

[applause] Our party will continue to pursue a foreign policy of peace, independence, friendship, and socialism. We will persist in strengthening and consolidating the militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with Vietnam, Cambodia, the Soviet Union, and other fraternal socialist countries while strengthening our friendly relations and cooperation with India and other countries in the Nonaligned Movement in order to positively contribute to the common struggle of various nations for peace, national independence, democracy, and social progress.

We once again would like to express complete support for the domestic and foreign policies set forth by the 27th CPSU Congress. We fully support the very significant peace initiatives and the tireless efforts of the Soviet Union aimed at ending the arms race and eliminating the holocaust of a nuclear war for peace and security of various nations. [applause]

We especially would like to hail the comprehensive peace initiatives of the Soviet Union as stated by Comrade Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in his Vladivostok speech on turning the Asia-Pacific region into a region of peace, friendship, and cooperation. We fully support the Delhi Declaration issued by the Soviet Union and India on building a world free from nuclear weapons and violence. We fully support the PRK's correct stand on defending the gains of its revolution and of the national independence and sovereignty and on advancing the country toward socialism. We express full support for the fraternal Cuban and the Nicaraguan peoples who are resolutely struggling against the Reagan administration's arrogant and open threats and acts of intervention and vigorously support the just struggle of the Asian, African, and Latin American peoples against imperialism, colonialism, neocolonialism, Zionism, and apartheid.

To show its good intentions toward peace, the LPDR has held and will continue to hold meetings and negotiations with the Kingdom of Thailand to resolve various problems in the relations between the two countries to contribute to turning Southeast Asia into a zone of peace, stability, and cooperation. The LPDR is preparing to hold meetings and talks with the PRC, aimed at normalizing bilateral relations on the basis of respecting each other's independence and sovereignty, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, nonaggression, equality, and peaceful coexistence. All these are in conformity with the interests of the peoples of the two countries and with the interest of peace in this region and the world.

Beloved comrades, through the past decades of militant alliance in the same trenches in the resistance against the common enemies, our two parties and peoples of Laos and Vietnam have together built and promoted the relations of great friendship and special solidarity. Upholding the pure spirit of proletarian internationalism, tens of thousands of beloved and good sons and nephews of the Vietnamese people have volunteered to directly work in assistance to the Lao revolution. Those comrades have shared weal and woe with the Lao people and sacrificed everything, even their lives, for the independence and freedom of the Lao nation and for the plentiful and prosperous life of the Lao people of various tribes. They have considered the building, development, and strengthening of the inner factors of the Lao revolution as their highest target in the relations and mutual assistance between the two countries. We are elated and very proud to note that the firm stalwart, consistent, pure, and sincere relations and mutual assistance between the Vietnamese and the Lao revolutions serve as a rare model in international relations. [applause]

Over recent years, loyal to the treaty of friendship and cooperation between the two countries and to the principles of the summit meeting of the three Indochinese



countries, the Vietnamese comrades have continued to work shoulder to shoulder with the Lao people and provide assistance in all fields to our country. They have helped us securely defend the revolutionary fruits while helping us fulfill construction work in the economic, cultural, and other sectors. Your assistance, comrades, is a very significant factor guaranteeing all victories of the Lao revolution.

From this elegant rostrum, on behalf of the party, state, and Lao people of various tribes, I once again would like to express profound gratitude and sincere thanks to the party, state, and fraternal people of Vietnam for the great, sincere, and effective assistance to our revolutionary cause. [applause] I also would like to take this occasion to extend warm greetings and close sentiments to those families of the Vietnamese whose husbands or relatives have been fulfilling their lofty international obligations in our beloved land. [applause]

Comrades, the special militant solidarity, the great friendship, and all-round cooperation between Laos and Vietnam and among Laos, Vietnam, and Cambodia, which have been built, promoted, and nourished by President Ho Chi Minh and by our three parties with persistent efforts, have become a precious heritage, a fine tradition, and the law for the existence and development of our three countries. They have constituted a great and enormous strength that cannot be crushed by any enemy. We are elated to see that under the situation in which their country is still facing many difficulties, the Vietnamese comrades have continued to resolutely fulfill their noble international obligations toward the Lao and Cambodian revolutions to be worthy of maintaining the key role in the strategic alliance among our three countries. [applause]

We always accept that the safeguarding and the development of the cause of solidarity among our three countries is the political responsibility, the sentiment, and the common revolutionary principle of the parties and peoples of our three countries.

We pledge to do our utmost to safeguard and strengthen the relations of militant solidarity and all-round cooperation with Vietnam and Cambodia to positively contribute to further enriching, in depth and with high quality and efficiency, the cooperation and mutual assistance among the three countries to enable all our three countries to promote and expand their strength and contribute valuably to the enhancement of the strength of the socialist community in the struggle for peace and security in Southeast Asia and the world. [applause]

On the basis of this spirit, I completely agree with the guidelines on the strengthening of the relations and cooperation among our three countries as presented in the Political Report to this congress, for example the guideline on regarding the practical efficiency of the relations and cooperation as the significant factor guaranteeing the fruitful rights of the three countries to advance together. In the profound spirit of close comradely and fraternal sentiments, we wish the Sixth CPV Congress glorious success. [applause] We are firmly convinced that under the beacon of the resolutions of this congress, the fraternal Vietnamese people will certainly be able to overcome all obstacles, difficulties, and various trials to score new, ever greater achievements in building socialism and defending their beloved socialist country. [applause]

Long live the noble and elegant CPV! [applause]

Long live the Laos-Vietnam and the Laos-Vietnam-Cambodia special solidarity and all-round cooperation! [applause]

Long live the firm solidarity and all-round cooperation among socialist countries with the Soviet Union as core! [applause]

Long live invincible Marxism-Leninism! [applause]

Great President Ho Chi Minh exists in our revolutionary cause forever! [applause]  
Thank you.

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CSJ: 4209/396

**MONGOLIA: BAT-UCHIRYN ALTANGEREL, MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REVOLUTIONARY PARTY**

Hanoi VNA in English 1501 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Speech by Bat-Ochiryn Altangerel, member of the Political Bureau of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, first secretary of the party committee of Ulaanbaatar]

[Excerpt] "The Sixth CPV Congress is an important event in the continued consolidation of world socialism. As representative of the MPRP, we have attentively listened to the Political Report delivered by Comrade Truong Chinh, general secretary of the CPV CC. The report has made a principled analysis of the achievements obtained by the CPV and the Vietnamese people in socialist construction in the recent past, and defined the task of continuing the socio-economic development of Vietnam and its peaceful foreign policy.

"From this forum, I would like to stress once again that the People's Republic of Mongolia fully supports the initiatives jointly put forth by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, the Lao People's Democratic Republic and the People's Republic of Kampuchea aimed at turning Southeast Asia into a region of peace, stability, and cooperation, and Vietnam's persistent efforts to realize its peaceful initiatives.

"It is imperative to coordinate the efforts of all Asian nations, parliaments, political parties, social organizations and progressive forces to peacefully solve the disputes and put out the hotbeds of war.

"We hope that the consultative conference of the representatives of communist and workers' parties in the region to be held in Ulaanbaatar next year will serve the cause of preserving peace and security in Asia and the Pacific".

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CSO: 4209/396

**MOZAMBIQUE: GUILÉON MCHILA, MOZAMBIQUE LIBERATION FRONT PARTY**

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Dec 86 p 3

[Speech by Frelimo Party Chief Delegate Guileon Mchila at the Sixth National Party Congress: "Greetings From the Mozambique Frelimo Party Delegation"; date not given]

[Text] With deep and joyful feeling, we wish to convey to those participating in the Sixth Party Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party the warm fraternal greetings of the Central Committee of the Frelimo Party, the party members and all the people of Mozambique and ask them to convey these greetings to the entire party and all the heroic Vietnamese people.

Our presence at this congress once again affirms that the bonds of friendship and solidarity between our two parties are truly firm and unbreakable under the illumination of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism that we are following and considering as a compass in the struggle to build socialism.

We have attentively and excitedly followed the summary report of the Central Committee presented in a profoundly spirited and objective manner by Comrade Truong Chinh, including the reflections of the great achievements of the Vietnamese people, a nation presently building, under the enlightened leadership of the Vietnam Communist Party, from a pile of ashes--an inheritance of the fierce national liberation struggle--a foundation for constructing a developed socialist society.

During these days of extreme importance to the lives of the Vietnamese people, we movingly recall the enduring image of Comrade Le Duan, the outstanding leader of the Vietnam Communist Party, the prestigious organizer of the liberation struggle against the colonialism and imperialism, and the talented disciple of mystical hero Ho Chi Minh, who devoted his entire life to the struggle for the most noble ideals of freedom, peace and socialism.

The Sixth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party occurs during days filled with hardship for our party and people because we have lost the leader who lead us to victory over colonialism, who founded the People's Republic of Mozambique, the father of the Mozambique people, and founder of the Frelimo Party.

The political responsibility for the death of our beloved Chairman belongs to the racist regime of South Africa.



However, even during the profound grieving caused by this great loss, we have striven for the strength and determination to more firmly unite around the Frelimo Party and our new leader, Chairman Joaquim Alberto Chissano, with the purpose of continuing the struggle to protect the fatherland and build socialism in our country.

The Fourth Congress of the Frelimo Party in 1983 considered our foremost missions to be the struggle against poverty and hunger, and the struggle to protect the fatherland.

The people of Mozambique, under the leadership of the Frelimo Party, are now striving to achieve those resolutions.

Our party will continue to develop relations of friendship and cooperation with all fraternal parties to cause those objectives to become reality.

The Sixth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party is being conducted during a period of stubborn actions by a number of rich and powerful western nations aimed at accelerating the arms race, creating the danger of a new war that is increasingly felt on a worldwide scale.

The Frelimo Party will continue to devote every effort aimed at allowing active initiatives to achieve success in the objectives of reducing arms, alleviating tension and advancing toward the elimination of all arsenals, first of all those of nuclear weapons.

The specific peace initiatives and suggestions of all socialist countries are cheering us and opening great expectations for discussions aimed at finding a method of solution.

This Year of International Peace is an important milestone in the campaign of irreversible progress toward peace and we hope that the dialogue that has begun will continue and will produce the fine results that are anxiously awaited by the people of the world. We regret that the high-level meeting at Reykjavik did not bring the results we were expecting because the imperialists persistently refused to abandon continuation of the "star wars" program.

We wish on this occasion once again to affirm the inherent relationship of profound friendship and solidarity between our two parties, peoples and nations whose histories originated during the period of our fight for independence.

Once again, we wish to compliment the fine achievements of the Sixth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party.

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CSO: 4209/266

NICARAGUA: LUIS CARRION CRUZ, SANDINISTA NATIONAL LIBERATION FRONT

BK162145 Hanoi Domestic Service in Vietnamese 1430 GMT 16 Dec 86

[By radio correspondent Kim Cuc]

[Excerpts] Dear friends, this afternoon's session of the sixth party congress was held in the conference hall under the direction of Comrade Phan Hung. At this session, the delegates heard the warm greetings imbued with lofty internationalist sentiments sent from communist and workers' parties and revolutionary movements to the communists and people of Vietnam and the fatherland of President Ho Chi Minh.

The session was opened with the hearty and warm greetings of Comrade Luis Carrion Cruz, member of the Sandinist National Liberation Front, revolutionary commander, and head of the delegation of Sandinist National Liberation Front of heroic Nicaragua. From a land burning with the struggle against U.S. imperialism, Comrade Luis Carrion Cruz said on behalf of the Nicaraguan revolutionaries:

[Begin recording in Spanish fading into superimposed translation] I would like to send to you, comrades—simple and heroic members of Ho Chi Minh's legendary party—the close embraces imbued with sentiments and solidarity of the combatants of the Sandinist National Liberation Front who are day after day fighting, making sacrifices, and winning victories for their homeland and for life and freedom. To us, the guerrillas and clandestine combatants of the Sandinist people, the historical epics of the indomitable Vietnamese people's struggle against French colonialism, Japan, and the powerful military machine of U.S. imperialism have served as a constant source of inspiration, an example, and the eternal confirmation that the people's strength is greater than all the weapons of the world.

Even before we had the opportunity to meet the first Vietnamese, you were already our close brothers. The thoughts and undertaking of Uncle Ho and his party constitute an asset of all revolutionaries in the world. Our struggle, as well as that of all nations currently oppressed by imperialism and colonialism, old and new, has become much stronger, and the final victory of this struggle is drawing nearer than ever before, since dealing U.S. imperialism the heaviest ever defeat in its history.

Dear comrades, we thank you for the sacrifices, the ironclad conviction of victory, and the intelligence and creativity of the Vietnamese people. We wish to thank President Ho Chi Minh, Comrade Le Duan, and countless other distinguished revolutionary leaders of yours. [end recording]

The greetings by this revolutionary comrade from a distant land in America were frequently interrupted by prolonged bursts of enthusiastic applause from the delegates. Comrade Luis Carrion Cruz said: In Nicaragua, some 3 million people of both sexes are prepared to offer their last drop of blood; for like Vietnam, Nicaragua believes that nothing is dearer than independence and freedom.

He also affirmed that if the imperialists dare invade Nicaragua, they should know right now that Nicaragua will become a Vietnam in Central America. He presented to the Sixth CPV Congress a steel fragment from a U.S. aircraft shot down recently by combatants of the Sandinist People's Army, considering this a symbol of militant fraternity and an identity of ideals.

The greetings from the delegation of the Sandinist National Liberation Front of Nicaragua was followed by the greetings from Comrade Alvaro Cunhal, general secretary of the Portuguese Communist Party, who reserved fine sentiments for the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people and the Vietnamese people for national defense. He praised the intensive efforts made by the Vietnamese people in national construction as well as in the defense of world peace.

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CSO: 4209/396

PLO: ALI MESHAL

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Dec 86 p 3

[Speech by PLO Chief Delegate Ali Meshal at the Sixth National Party Congress: "Greetings From the Palestine Liberation Organization (PLO) Delegation"; date not given]

[Text] On behalf of Palestine and the Palestine Liberation Organization, I wish to extend to the Sixth Congress of Delegates of the Vietnam Communist Party warm combat greetings and sincere wishes for the success of your congress; and once again affirm to you our resolute support for and firm solidarity with your party and people, a nation that has set an example and model for us of sacrifice and stubborn combat to win victory. .

I never exaggerate or speak diplomatically when I tell you that, in the dictionary of the Palestine revolution, Vietnam has only one meaning, and at the bottom of the heart of every Palestinian, there is only one meaning. Vietnam in our hearts and minds means victory: victory over encirclement and destruction and victory in all aspects of construction, progress and prosperity. Vietnam has raised slogans written in blood against the imperialists, has won the greatest victory in modern history, and has taught the American imperialists a lesson that future generations cannot forget.

I wish to respectfully salute you a thousand times. Honor, prosperity and progress belong to you, the predecessors as well as the children of the great Vietnam revolution, comrades--the children of heroic comrade--Uncle Ho.

All glory belongs to your dead heroes who have fallen on the road to victory.

I was endlessly pleased by the Political Report of the Party Central Committee and the subsequent delegate discussions. Possibly not only I but also your other guests were as moved as I was. The political report and discussions brought us a beautiful picture of achievements in socialist construction while simultaneously encompassing straightforward and constructive criticism and scientific and specific evaluation. These are important manifestations, eloquent proof for the road of construction, progress and prosperity during the coming period.

I wish to respectfully salute a thousand times those who participated during the past and those who will assist in the coming great construction.



Your Sixth Congress is being held in the atmosphere of an extremely complex and difficult period created by the policy of reckless aggression of the Reagan administration--a government of great concern to everyone living on this planet.

When the appeals for peace in the initiatives of the Soviet Union sounded a demand for ending nuclear testing aimed at avoiding the tragic catastrophe of a destructive war for mankind, the U.S. government--and especially President Reagan--again resolved to create tension, to militarize space, and to directly and indirectly invade many areas of the world.

East of Arabia, the United States signed a pact of aggression with the Zionists to openly bring Israel into the U.S. plan of aggression in the Middle East, and to change the occupied Palestine fatherland into a nuclear weapons arsenal and outpost of U.S. espionage and intervention against the revolutionary forces and their allies in the socialist community.

Truly unfortunately, it must be stated that within the scope of Palestine during the past decade, our revolution has been forced to plunge into secondary wars, forcing us to partially reduce our concentration on the primary war with the Zionist foes while they are steadily increasing their actions of brutal aggression.

Even so, we are stubbornly fighting for inevitable victory. We have the example and symbol of your struggle. We know clearly that we are not alone, that we have the support of all the revolutionary, progressive and peace forces. Consequently, we applaud the initiative of Comrade M. S. Gorbachev to convene an international conference to end the conflict in the Middle East. Therefore, we have opened the door wide for understanding with our Syrian brothers; are joining our Libyan brothers in fighting to protect the Arabian character of Libya and to protect the autonomy and independence of that nation; and have taken successful steps forward in unifying the people of Palestine, once again calling for Arabian solidarity on the basis of resistance to imperialism and Zionism. We demand an end to the Iran-Iraq war, which if prolonged will only benefit imperialism and Zionism.

We come to your Congress to unite with you and with your struggle. The unity of other nations with your people and party in our opinion means a unity with the forces of liberation in the world. You are their symbol. Vietnam is their slogan.

Since the beginning of the seventies, at the Berlin International Youth Festival, we have received your struggle banner and torch. We vow to continue the revolutionary mission, causing the revolutionary banner to strongly wave and the revolutionary torch to brilliantly burn.

Following your road, we are fighting not only to protect ourselves but also to protect all nations in the area, and to protect freedom, progress and independence.

The things we have seen and heard at the Congress, in the meetings, and through the discussions have strongly affirmed to us that within the very near future, we will meet each other on the land of liberated Jerusalem--capital of independent Palestine, where we will join in a victory celebration.

POLAND: JOSEF CZYREK, POLISH UNITED WORKERS PARTY

BK161859 Hanoi VNA in English 1636 GMT 16 Dec 86

[Excerpt] Hanoi VNA Dec 16 — The heads of the party delegations from Poland and Czechoslovakia have delivered their speeches of greetings to the current 6th Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam.

Josef Czyrek, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the Polish United Workers' Party Central Committee, said:

"We are confident that the heroic Vietnamese people who have constantly shown their courage, great spirit of self-sacrifice and ardent patriotism, will, under the leadership of their Communist Party, overcome all difficulties and fulfill their great tasks in developing the socialist homeland and successfully materialize the wishes of President Ho Chi Minh, the great son of the Vietnamese people.

"Our two parties and peoples are bound together by our close fraternal friendship and the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This relationship dates from the days of the Vietnamese people's struggle against colonialism and imperialism. We are also bound by our historical similarity and experiences. Our two nations have paid the highest price for freedom and independence.

"This fact has created favourable premises for broad cooperation between Poland and Vietnam in all fields. The fine development in our economic, scientific and cultural cooperation has drawn our two nations closer together, and the ever stronger cooperation between our two Marxist-Leninist parties has played a major role in encouraging such continual development of the Polish-Vietnamese relations.

"We fully support the well-intentioned proposals put forth by the three fraternal Indochinese countries aimed at solving by a political means all outstanding problems in Southeast Asia. The implementation of these proposals will contribute to the cause of consolidating peace and developing the fine neighbourly cooperation among nations in the region.

"We attach great importance to and highly value the contributions of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to consolidating the international unity of the world socialist system as well as its active role in the Non-Aligned Movement.

"We are convinced that your congress will open a new period in building socialism and will, at the same time, be the original of all creativeness and new activities of the Vietnamese people".

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CSO: 4209/396

PORTUGAL: ALVARO CUNHAL, COMMUNIST PARTY OF PORTUGAL

OW172050 Hanoi VNA in English 1855 GMT 17 Dec 86

[Speech by Alvaro Cunhal, secretary general of the Communist Party of Portugal]

[Text] "The historic victories of the Vietnamese communists and people are an invaluable contribution to the struggle of revolutionary forces and the working people throughout the world.

"We believe that the Vietnamese people led by the party will score successes in the struggle for their socio-economic targets and for the renovation proposed by this congress just as they have won in the past.

"We want to stress here that our party highly values the proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist countries, the determination of the Communist Party of Vietnam to find a political solution that would ensure peace and stability in southeast Asia. In this regard, allow me to express the solidarity feelings of the Portuguese communists towards the representatives of the Lao and Kampuchean peoples.

"For the Portuguese communists, the Vietnamese communists are a source of endless revolutionary encouragement.

"Highly valuing the will of the Communist Party of Vietnam expressed at this congress, which is to find a solution to all problems through dialogue and negotiations, we strongly believe that there is no obstacle that the communist cannot overcome through dialogue and mutual examination of the problems, with a sincere attitude."

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CSO: 4209/396

ROMANIA: ION COMAN, ROMANIAN COMMUNIST PARTY

AU231118 Bucharest SCINTEIA in Romanian 18 Dec 86 p 6

[Report on "Message of Greetings by the RCP Central Committee" to the proceedings of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, held in Hanoi 17 December]

[Text] Hanoi, 17 Dec (AGERPRES)—During the Wednesday meeting of the Sixth Congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam (CPV), Comrade Ion Coman, member of the Political Executive Committee and secretary of the RCP Central Committee, extended on behalf of the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, and on behalf of the Communists and all our people, warm revolutionary greetings to the delegations, together with wishes for complete success to the proceedings of the high forum of the Vietnamese Communists.

As close friends, the speaker said, we convey warm congratulations to the Communists and all Vietnamese people for the successes attained in the society's revolutionary transformation, in building the material-technical base of socialism, and in the homeland's socioeconomic development, as well as wishes for success in fulfilling the tasks your congress is to adopt.

The leader of the RCP delegation recalled the positive relations of friendship and militant solidarity between the RCP and the CPV which were very obvious in the period of the struggle against colonialism and imperialist aggression, and which in the years of socialist construction went through and continue to go through a positive development at a political, economic, scientific-technical, and cultural level. We express the firm conviction that, by acting together and on the basis of understandings agreed upon during summit meetings in Bucharest and Hanoi, relations between the RCP and CPV and between Romania and Vietnam will continue to develop in the interest of and to the benefit of our peoples and the cause of socialism and peace throughout the world.

The Communists and all Romanian people, closely united with the RCP and its secretary general, Comrade Nicolae Ceausescu, are currently carrying out extensive activity aimed at commendably implementing the 13th RCP Congress decisions and the program for building the comprehensively developed socialist society and for Romania's advance toward communism, the speaker said, adding:



In our overall activity to implement the 13th RCP Congress decisions we place stress on intensively developing the economy, on achieving a new agrarian revolution, and on thus ensuring the preconditions for achieving better quality in work and life for all our people. The RCP also pay particular attention to constantly deepening workers revolutionary democracy and continuously perfecting the framework of the masses' broad and direct participation in leading the society, and in formulating and implementing the domestic and foreign policy of our party and state.

Under the current international circumstances which are particularly complex and serious, the RCP believes that the basic problem is to halt the arms race and achieve disarmament, primarily nuclear disarmament, and ensure the people's right to peace and life, the leader of our party delegation stressed.

Socialist Romania is acting with all its power to eliminate all nuclear weapons from Europe and throughout the world, to bring about a cessation of nuclear testing, prevent the militarization of outer space, and to radically reduce conventional arms, troops, and military expenditures.

Our country supports the proposals by the Soviet Union on a 50-percent cut in strategic nuclear arms and the total elimination of intermediate-range nuclear missiles from Europe, in the belief that an important step toward proceeding to tangible measures for disarmament could be achieved through a 25-percent cut in conventional weapons, troops, and military expenditures by 1990, as the socialist countries proposed at the Budapest meeting of June 1986.

Romania's recent initiative, the speaker continued, which in the wake of a national referendum decided on a 5-percent cut in arms, troops, and military expenditures beginning with this year, is part of parcel of the program-appeal of the socialist countries designed to ensure the beginning of a real process of disarmament.

Romania acts to strengthen trust and positive cooperation in the Balkans, and to turn this area into a zone of peace and cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons. Our country also favors the creation of such zones in the center and north of Europe, and on other continents in the world.

We firmly struggle to halt any military conflicts, to solve all disputes between states—no matter how difficult they may be—solely by peaceful means and negotiations, and by fully renouncing the use or threat of force. We are deeply convinced that only on conditions of peace can the socioeconomic development goals of all peoples in the world be achieved.

Romania believes that efforts must be intensified to eliminate underdevelopment and establish a new international economic order.

Stressing then that our country is paying particular attention to relations with all socialist countries and to strengthening their unity, and that it acts to optimally fulfill the understandings concluded at the summit economic meeting of the CEMA member-states and the provisions of the

Comprehensive Program for Promoting Scientific and Technical Progress, the speaker stressed that Romania is also strengthening relations of cooperation and solidarity with the developing countries, and is expanding relations with all states in the world, irrespective of social systems. Romania bases all its relations consistently on the principles of full equality of rights, respect for national independence and sovereignty, noninterference in domestic affairs, mutual advantage, complete renunciation of the use or threat of force, and respect for each people's right to free development, without any outside interference.

The RCP is consistently [word indistinct] to strengthen cooperation and solidarity with all communist and workers parties, with the socialist and social-democratic parties, and with other parties and democratic and progressive organizations, with anti-imperialist forces everywhere in the struggle to achieve disarmament, the peoples' socioeconomic progress, and the triumph of peace and reason on our planet.

In conclusion, the RCP delegation leader extended wishes for complete success in implementing the decisions that will be adopted by the congress and in the activity devoted to progress and the well-being of the friendly Vietnamese people, and the general cause of socialism and peace.

/9738

CSO: 2700/96

**SWAPO: EMVULA OBES TULINA**

**Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 21 Dec 86 pp 3, 4**

**[Speech by Emvula Obes Tulina, the SWAPO chief delegate to the Sixth CPV Congress]**

**[Text] The SWAPO Central Committee of Namibia, headed by Chairman Sam Nujoma, and all the people of Namibia, who are fighting under the leadership of SWAPO, would like to express warm greetings and sincere wishes for success to the Sixth CPV Congress, to the revolutionary workers of Vietnam, and to the heroic Vietnamese people.**

**The SWAPO of Namibia was honored by the CPV Central Committee's invitation to attend this important party congress. This congress shows once again that the CPV attaches great importance to the just struggle of the people of Namibia under the leadership of their vanguard movement, SWAPO of Namibia, against the yoke of South African apartheid and against the attempt by the American imperialists to block Namibia's attempt to regain independence based on U.N. Security Council Resolution No 435 of 1978.**

**The Vietnamese people, led by their party, are to be admired. You have the respect and support of all progressive and peace-loving forces throughout the world. You have remained steadfast through a history filled with challenges.**

**The path ahead is a long and hard one. Your present struggle during the transition to socialism without going through the capitalist stage is filled with dangers stemming from the war waged by the American imperialists, which created instability and did great damage. However, without doubt, just as before, you will certainly be victorious. This is the greeting that Namibia sends to this congress.**

**Vietnam's victory over the most powerful imperialist, which used its great strength to threaten the country, proves that no power in the world, no matter how strong, can defeat a people who are resolved to liberate themselves from the yoke of foreign domination. Your victory provided the people of Namibia under the leadership of SWAPO, the sole representative of the hopes of the people of Namibia, with another weapon and a source of motivation. The United States is pursuing an unjust policy that is an insult to Namibia. Driven by a thirst for immediate profits, acting blindly and implementing plots to try to**

save the moribund capitalist system of colonialism, the United States is conspiring with the supporters of apartheid in Pretoria, who are carrying on state terrorism against the innocent people of Namibia and slaughtering them. They are using both crude and modern means in a concealed way to oppose the progressive governments of the newly liberated countries, such as the fraternal People's Republic of Angola, in an attempt to restore their position of world hegemony.

In the national liberation movement, the question of peace must be given special attention by the so-called third-world countries in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. With their plot to continue colonizing or semi-colonizing these countries, the Americans and other colonialists are brandishing a sword against the Soviet Union, which supports the independence movements of the colonized peoples. There cannot be peace unless the independence of all peoples is protected and their rights to their natural resources are guaranteed.

Furthermore, there cannot be real development in conditions of war or the threat of war. If there is a nuclear war, no one will survive. Thus, it is clear that no one can take a neutral position with respect to this pressing problem. Man's choice is clear. We oppose America's gunboat foreign policy and its SDI program. All knowledgeable people support the Soviet proposal to stop this nuclear madness by the year 2000.

Today, the struggle being waged by the people of Namibia is something of which few people outside Namibia are aware. Few people know that during the past 20 years of fierce fighting, thousands of our people have been killed. The number killed has been estimated at approximately 30,000. One-fourth of the people of Namibia have had to abandon their homes. Today, South Africa has more than 100,000 troops in Namibia. That is a ratio of 1 South African soldier for every 20 Namibians.

Thus, we must immediately end the illegal occupation of our fatherland by the apartheid group, stop Western cooperation with Pretoria, and launch a movement to use effective and resolute measures against the criminal apartheid system, which the Reagan administration and Thatcher government support.

We know that Namibia's struggle has notable support throughout the world. In particular, the socialist countries, with the Soviet Union in the lead, support us. We are very grateful and hope that this solidarity will continue until we win the final victory.

SWAPO of Namibia has declared 1986 to be a year of total mobilization and decisive action with the aim of winning final victory. Every element among our people, including workers, artists, farmers, youths, college students, women, intellectuals, specialists, and the religious community, has been given specific instructions in order to carry out this program. In particular, the members of the Namibian Liberation Army have been given clear orders and are doing everything possible to liberate the fatherland.



To conclude, SWAPO would like to express solidarity with all the fraternal national liberation movements that are being carried on during a period of difficult challenges. These include the ANC in South Africa, the PLO, the Polisario Front in Western Sahara, and the heroic people of Nicaragua and El Salvador in their resistance against American state terrorism.

We will never forget that the heroic people of Vietnam have continuously had to deal with threats organized and financed by the American imperialists. We sincerely wish the brave Vietnamese people, under the leadership of the VCP, success in carrying out the tasks put forth at this party congress in order to move the country's socialist economy forward to a new stage and strengthen the country's ability to defend its territory and help maintain stability in Southeast Asia.

11943

CSO: 4209/267

USA: MAURICE JACKSON, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE UNITED STATES

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 7

[Speech by Maurice Jackson, U.S. Communist Party Chief Delegate to the VCP Sixth Party Congress]

[Text] On behalf of the Central Committee of the U.S. Communist Party, comrade General Secretary Gus Hall, and the progressive and peace-loving forces of the U.S. working class and people, I would like to relay to you our deepest gratitude for allowing us to attend the Sixth Congress of the Vietnam Communist Party.

On the part of the U.S. Communist Party, there is no greater honor than to stand beside the noble and brave Vietnamese people. Your historic and victorious struggle against the U.S. imperialists has been recorded in the annals of history as one of the true liberation in the developmental process of mankind. The example you set in struggling for freedom and national independence is incomparable. With the light of Ho Chi Minh serving as your compass, you have truly proven that "Nothing is more precious than independence and freedom." Following the path delineated by comrade Ho Chi Minh and the late comrade Le Duan, you have ensured that Vietnam will always be free and autonomous.

Your congress is being held at a critical time. As you are outlining your new missions and measures in the great undertaking of building socialism, the evil powers are active in the United States to threaten social progress inside and outside our country. You are well aware that the U.S. ruling circles have recently tried to enshroud our people with a curtain of lies.

The arms sales by the United States, Israel, etc., have clearly shown that the reactionary powers, state terrorists, and imperialists are prepared to do anything to rule the world and earn maximum profits. Their weapons and Swiss bank funds have been sent to all kinds of terrorists, from the Contras in Nicaragua to the counterrevolutionaries in Afghanistan, and from the mercenaries in Angola and Mozambique to the Pol Pot reactionaries in Cambodia. Recent public opinion polls in the United States has shown that the majority of Americans do not believe the U.S. president when he says that he knows nothing about the secret, illegal, and immoral secret acts of his lackeys in their terrorist ways of doing things. It is those people, who form what is now

known as the "invisible clique," who must bear responsibility for the invasion of Grenada, the bombing of Libya, and the illegal assistance for the Contras in Nicaragua. They are part of the U.S. military-industrial complex. Nearly all of them were among the first U.S. troops to wage war against Vietnam. Now they occupy some of the highest positions in the Reagan administration.

Those actions are continuing to demonstrate the political and morale crisis that is descending on the United States and the centers of world capitalism. Today, in our country, millions of people agree unanimously that the new military-political complex is the controlling power that determines the foreign and domestic policies of the United States. They realize that the forces of the Trilateral Commission and the capitalist bosses of Wall Street will stop at nothing to increase their profits and rule the world.

However, at a time when the rich are becoming richer there is another aspect of the living conditions of the American people. Consider the following data:

Twenty million people unemployed and have no hope of finding work; 10 million people are semiemployed, do not have sufficient work, and are paid excessively low wages; a whole generation of youths and teenagers has little prospect of finding employment or becoming well-educated; 35 million (15 percent) Americans live in poverty and more than half of the nation's black youths go to bed hungry every night; and millions of people must sleep on dirty sidewalks because they are homeless and many die because of the cold and snow.

For millions of people, the so-called "American dream" has become a chronic nightmare. All of that is happening at a time when a handful of capitalists are living lives of luxury on the backs of the working people and the poor.

We have not given up hope. Our people are manifesting a new spirit, are on the rise, and are prepared to fight for the things that are just and proper. Above all and first of all, that means peace.

The struggle against Reaganism has become stronger than ever. His time is almost up. Recently the labor union leaders demanded that Reagan bring peace back with him when he returned from the summit meeting in Iceland. They demanded that he reduce the military budget and shift that money over into social programs to serve the people. Thousands of people walked throughout the month of August 3,000 miles across America, to demand an end to the arms race, an end to the testing of nuclear weapons, and a cut-off of funds for "Star Wars."

It should be pointed out that in the United States the communists, the workers, the minority groups—including blacks, Latinos, native Americans, and Asians—women, and youths, are struggling bravely to get rid of the Reaganites and those who would keep them in poverty. The victories in the recent elections clearly show that Americans want basic changes.

We American communists acknowledge the continuing struggle of the Vietnamese people and all Asian peoples to be able to live in peace. We support the recommendation of M.I. Gorbachev at Vladivostok that Asia and the Pacific

become a zone of peace. We know that the peoples of Vietnam, Cambodia, Laos support those steps. The peace initiatives of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and the many proposals made at the conference of foreign affairs ministers of Cambodia, Laos, and Vietnam were important developments.

We demand an end to the arms race and the testing of nuclear weapons by the United States, and support the Soviet Union's initiative calling for the complete elimination of nuclear weapons before the year 2000. We support the initiatives of the nonaligned movement. We demand an end to U.S. support for the Contras in Nicaragua, and that total sanctions be imposed against the fascist regime in South Africa.

We call for an end to the world debt crisis by cancelling the debts of the Asian, African, and Latin American countries. There is a direct relationship between the greed of the bankers, who want to ruin the lives of countless U.S. farm families, and the destruction of the economies the Third World countries.

At a time when the capitalist ruling circles are seeking ways to achieve world hegemony, a powerful force is continuing to liberate the suppressed and exploited people. That is the strength of world socialism, led by the Soviet Union. From Moscow to Hanoi, and from Havana to Addis Ababa, the Marxist-Leninists are doing everything they can to ensure that some day we will be able to live in a world that is peaceful and prosperous, a world without weapons or war.

The Vietnamese people are on the front line of that noble and great task. Who can forget that during the Christmas season 14 years ago, in December 1972, the U.S. imperialists dropped tons of horrible weapons on the Vietnamese people and in all Indochinese countries during the "Christmas bombings." But they were defeated. They were repelled by a nation that was unwilling to accept anything less than freedom from the yoke of domination.

Your brilliant example will be a beacon for the generations of warriors struggling for freedom all over the world. The American people, and especially the American communists, will always have a spirit of solidarity with the Vietnamese people, and will do everything necessary to ensure that the world will not be threatened by war on the earth or in space.

In conclusion, I wish you continued success in the enterprise of building socialism. May the friendship and solidarity between the Vietnamese people and the American people, and between our two glorious communist parties, will continue to grow and develop, and inspire our people.

5616

CSO: 4209/265



USSR: YEGOR LIGACHEV, COMMUNIST PARTY OF THE SOVIET UNION

NK151803 Hanoi VNA in English 1634 GMT 15 Dec 86

[Text] Hanoi VNA Dec 15 — Yegor Ligachev, member of the Political Bureau and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, head of the CPSU delegation to the 6th congress of the Communist Party of Vietnam, today delivered his greetings at the congress. He said:

"Acting upon the testament of Comrade Ho Chi Minh, an outstanding Marxist-Leninist and a staunch internationalist, your party, within a short period of history and in extremely difficult conditions, has achieved an extremely great cause. The success of your struggle against foreign exploiters and aggressors brought independence and reunification to your country and won admiration from the whole world for the heroic Vietnamese people. Under the leadership of the countries in the socialist community, the industrious Vietnamese people are building a new society, laying the foundations for a modern industry, for the development of agriculture, for the consolidation of defence capabilities and the development of sciences and culture on the basis of the finest traditions of the nation.

"We note with satisfaction that the Vietnamese Communists' line for renovation coincides with the creative spirit of the line of the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The Soviet Communists believe that the resolutions full of the realistic character to be adopted by you will bring the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to a new stage of development in politics and economy.

"On the road of development of world socialism, a stage has been reached which requires that all communist parties have completely new, not ready-made, solutions to the complicated issues, strongly reform and renovate all aspects of social life aimed at giving large room for the development of the inexhaustible creative abilities of the socialist system. That was the broad topic of discussions at the meeting of party leaders of ten socialist countries in Moscow. That meeting marked a turning point in our all-round cooperation, realizing our determination, fully and strictly implementing the socialist internationalist principles, consolidating the foundation of the unity among parties on the basis of developing to the highest level each party's and each country's activeness and initiative.

"We greatly rejoice to note that all the multi-faceted relations and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Vietnam, already institutionalized by the USSR-Vietnam Treaty for Friendship and Cooperation, have been built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and socialist internationalism. This means that the relations between our two states are relations of revolutionary solidarity and at the same time of

complete independence. The main strength which cements the friendly relations between our two countries is the close relationship between the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and the Communist Party of Vietnam.

"The consistent policy of the Soviet Union, that of constantly strengthening the Soviet-Vietnamese friendship was once again manifested in the August and November meetings between Comrade M.S. Gorbachev and Comrade Truong Chinh, which took place in an atmosphere of close fraternity and complete mutual understanding".

The Soviet delegation head continued: "To develop cooperation with Vietnam is an international obligation of the fraternal socialist countries. At their Moscow meeting, the leaders of the fraternal parties adopted the decision on a special program of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance aimed at developing the economies of Vietnam, Mongolia and Cuba. For its part, the Soviet Union and the CPSU will do their best to put this program into effect.

"Our task is to see to it that every socio-economic project undertaken in Vietnam with Soviet assistance be put into use on schedule and yield the highest possible efficiency so as to contribute to an early solution of Vietnam's problems. No doubt, a number of branches of the light, food and consumer goods industries and the direct trade links between Vietnam and the Soviet Far East might become an important field of cooperation between our two countries."

"We welcome the fair and reasonable policy of Vietnam, Laos and Kampuchea aimed at constructively solving the existing problems in Southeast Asia and seeking a political solution to the Kampuchean issue.

"To normalise relations between Vietnam and China is a factor of positive impact on the improvement of the Asian situation and will help make the international climate healthy. We are firmly confident that such a task can certainly be solved on the basis of equal and sensible dialogue. That is the aspiration and hope of all those who have peace and socialism at heart. Everyone has (known) of the proposals repeatedly put forth by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam on this matter. For its part, the Soviet Union has been striving to develop relations of good neighbourliness with People's Republic of China on the principle of non-detriment to the interests of other countries".

"In your lofty struggle for the bright future of [words indistinct] you, comrade, can fully rely on the fraternal support of the Soviet people. Let us continue to preserve and consolidate the close unity between our two parties, peoples and states", the Soviet leader concluded.

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CSO: 4209/396

UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA: JOHN NKADIMENG, SOUTH AFRICAN COMMUNIST PARTY

Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 20 Dec 66 p 3

[Speech by South Africa Communist Party Chief Delegate John Nkadimeng at the Sixth National Party Congress: "Greetings From the South Africa Communist Party Delegation"; date not given]

[Text] I am extremely pleased on behalf of the Central Committee of the South Africa Communist Party to convey greetings to you on the occasion of the Vietnamese Communist Party Congress. To the soldiers struggling for independence throughout the world, the achievements of your party during the past have been a source of encouragement. Along with your allies, you have mobilized the great strength of the Vietnamese people to oust the French and American imperialists--who were striving to restrain Vietnam within the orbit of capitalism. You have established a foundation for socialism and defeated every imperialist intervention to block the advance of nations on this subcontinent toward peace and social progress. You have held out against every neocolonialist scheme to join all types of reactionaries in leading you astray from the road of Marxism-Leninism and of proletarian internationalism. Following the finest revolutionary tradition, you have affirmed your solidarity with the Soviet Union and other members of the international Communist movement. Disregarding the difficulties confronting you and within the scope of your own abilities, you have wholeheartedly assisted other parties and nations in their struggle for national independence, including the African National Congress which is allied with the South Africa Communist Party and the South Africa Labor Union Congress in the present struggle of our people to eliminate the racist system of oppressive apartheid from South Africa.

On this occasion, representing all of our people at war, the South Africa Communist Party wishes to thank you for your assistance. Your work is a source of encouragement, your example is a beacon and your practical support is an assurance of inevitable victory. From this podium, we vow never to put down our weapons before achieving our objective, before ensuring the liberation of our people from the yoke of national oppression, the very things our people are fighting and dying for today. And when the dawn breaks and freedom is won, we will remember our debt to the forces of internationalism represented by your party and other parties in the world, forces that have assisted us during the darkest hours and minutes of the black night.

Today, the world is faced with the danger of a nuclear war because the international reactionary forces led by the United States are making final hopeless

efforts to save the capitalist system from extinction. Of unprecedented clarity is the fact that today, the struggle of national liberation for independence and social progress is closely connected with the struggle for peace. We communists are confronted with an awesome challenge. The responsibility for mobilizing the peoples of the world in a crusade to liberate mankind from the evil circumstances of class exploitation, racial oppression and war has been placed on our shoulders. In Nicaragua, Cambodia, Afghanistan, Vietnam, Mozambique, Angola and even within the central regions of socialism, we must protect to the end the fruits we have won in the great struggle of this century. In South Africa and Namibia, the people are fighting for the most fundamental democratic rights and the right to live on the land of their birthplace without the dictatorial yoke of a foreign country.

Your struggle and ours are mutually related, "two faces of a single coin." Let us advance with the confidence that our undertaking is just, and that we are fighting for the benefit of a majority of the people, not only in our two countries but all over the world, like the people of Russia in 1917 in the hope for bread, land and peace. Together, we and our allies will defeat and bury capitalism and imperialism. Together, we will build a new world of socialism in which all people of all lands will be able to live and work together in peace and harmony.

7300  
CSO: 4209/266



**YEMEN PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC: HAIDRAH MASDODS, YEMEN SOCIALIST PARTY**

**Hanoi NHAN DAN in Vietnamese 19 Dec 86 p 7**

**[Text of speech by Yemen Socialist Party Chief Delegate Haidrah Masdods: "Greetings From the Yemen Socialist Party Delegation"]**

**[Text] A great honor for us is to attend the 6th Congress of the fraternal CPV along with the communists and working people of the SRV. On this occasion, on behalf of the Political Bureau and Central Committee of the Yemen Socialist Party and all the working people of Yemen, I convey to you and through you to the heroic Vietnamese people our warmest greetings.**

**Our attending the congress of the fraternal CPV is a natural and profound expression of the friendly, fraternal, and close relations between the two parties and the people of our countries. These relations are being further consolidated and strengthened on the basis of the same objectives and principles which all of us are striving to attain.**

**Through the Political Report presented by Truong Chinh, we clearly see your struggle in all fields and the efforts of the Vietnamese working people under the clear-sighted leadership of the CPV in the last several years. The heroic Vietnamese people, after a relentless struggle full of sacrifices and hardships against the American aggressive forces for their independence and sovereignty, know better than anybody else the meaning of freedom.**

**We highly evaluate the great CPV, a party that was born and grew up in the heart of a patriotic class struggle, has contributed a precious legacy to the Marxist-Leninist treasure, and has been enriching the experience of mankind in the revolutionary struggle that the great Lenin's party has outlined.**

**In the complicated international and regional situation serving as background, the CPV has drawn the line it would follow. Thanks to its clear-sighted leadership, a correct combination of ideology and action, and an organic association between itself and the worker-farmer masses, it has won decisive victories in the face of ruthless and aggressive forces in its patriotic and class struggles, which commanded the respect and high evaluation of all good-cause and peace-loving forces in the world. President Ho Chi Minh, the founder of your party and outstanding patriot and international activist,**

holds a great position in the minds and hearts of the people of all countries that are fighting for independence, freedom, democracy, socialism, and social progress.

You have observed the events that took place in our country in January 1986. These events could lead to an abolition of our country's future movement toward socialism.

Although our party had to bear such sorrows and great losses, it has been continuing to make urgent efforts to overcome their consequences and to heal its wounds. The homes and enterprises that were destroyed are being rebuilt; the families of the dead heroes or of those killed are returning to a stable and secure living. At the same time, a general amnesty has been pronounced for those who made mistakes. On that basis hundreds of people who made mistakes have been returning. Many of them have been released from jail.

Last October the people in Democratic (Republic of) Yemen took part with unprecedented enthusiasm in the elections to elect the People's Supreme Council and the people's councils at all levels.

In that challenge, the fraternal Soviet Union always stood next to our party and people, granted us a great international assistance, and helped us to overcome the consequences of those events. Along with the Soviet Union, the entire socialist community, including the SPV, also quickly rallied to our side.

American imperialism, with the policy of extending the nuclear arms race into space, is seriously threatening world peace and security. On the other hand, the policy of terrorizing other states which the Reagan administration is carrying out is a brazen violation of international law and threatens the sovereignty of many independent nations. The American invasion of Libya and concentrated military activities aimed at intimidating Syria are clear evidences of this policy.

We Arab people, first of all the Palestinian people, now must deal with the strongest expansion of imperialism and Zionism aimed at imposing their rule in the region and abolishing the Arab national liberation movement.

The People's Democratic Republic of Yemen once again affirms its supporting the Soviet Union's initiative aimed at convening an international conference to resolve the Middle East problem and to bring lasting peace to this region of the world, and totally supports the peace initiatives that reflect the humane quality of the party and people of the Soviet Union in the struggle for peace and the noble sense of responsibility demonstrated by the great Lenin's party in regard to world peace and the destiny of all men on this planet.

We express our support and total and strong response to the proposals and plans made by the Soviet Union and aimed at disarmament, abolition of the "Star Wars" program, and a healthier international atmosphere. We think that the initiatives the Soviet Union is trying to achieve are the correct and clear-sighted way to bring peace in the world and to direct the resources of all peoples toward serving the progress of mankind.

Once again we offer you our greetings. We wish you success.

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